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THE EMPIRE IN THE NEW ERA

SPEECHES DELIVERED DURING AN EMPIRE TOUR 1927-1928

BY

THE RT. HON. L. S. AMERY, M.P.
Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs
and for the Colonies

WITH A FOREWORD BY THE RIGHT HONBLE.
THE EARL OF BALFOUR,
K.G., O.M.

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PREFACE

The speeches included in the present volume have been selected from some 300 speeches made in the course of a seven months' tour round the Dominions. The conditions under which they were delivered precluded anything in the nature of careful preparation, and I have not attempted to recast them subsequently or to give them any pretence at literary finish. Nor have I tried to eliminate the repetition of ideas, arguments and even phrases inevitably resulting from the fact that there were certain definite things I wished to say wherever I went. Such value, indeed, as these speeches may possibly have for the student of Imperial affairs will be due not to their variety so much as to their unity. They are the expression, consciously or unconsciously attuned to the ever changing character of my audiences, and influenced by the historic and economic environment in which I found myself, of certain simple ideas about the nature of our relationship within the Empire, and about the opportunities which that relationship offers to us all in the new era of the world's development which lies before us. They constitute an attempt, by one who took part in the memorable Imperial Conference of 1926, to give to the abstract definitions and resolutions then adopted a more detailed and concrete application in their appropriate local perspective and atmosphere.

A volume of this character needs no special introductory chapter. But I have ventured to preface the series of my Dominion speeches, given in their chronological sequence, by an address given, shortly after my return, to the Royal Colonial Institute (now the Royal Empire Society), which may afford a convenient outline of the main ideas running through the whole series.

L. S. AMERY.

June, 1928.

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PUBLIC LIBRARIES OF BETHNAL GREEN

FOREWORD

By The Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M.

This volume is a memorable record of a memorable tour; and as such it deserves, and I am sure will receive, the admiring attention of Britishers in all parts of the Empire. But apart from more general considerations, it possesses a combination of claims on our regard in respect of which, from the nature of things, it will never find a rival. Ministers and Members from the different Parliaments of the Empire will in increasing numbers interchange visits and so maintain the personal touch for which no improvement in our physical methods of communication can be an adequate substitute. But they will never find an occasion comparable with the one of which Mr. Amery has made such admirable use. Even if they possess the knowledge, the eloquence and the perfervid patriotism which warms and brightens every page of these speeches, they will never travel round the Empire under the immediate inspiration of so great an event as the Imperial Conference of 1926.

But why (it may be asked) should so much emphasis be laid on the year 1926? It is true that the Conference of that year gave impressive expression to the doctrine of equal status among the self-governing communities within the Empire. But after all (it may be said) was there anything new in the doctrine then formally proclaimed? Did the Conference resolutions do more than make explicit what had for years been tacitly assumed in our Dominion policy? And, if not, is anything gained by this attempt to mark the stages in a process of continuous growth by the help of formal divisions and precise dates? Let us grant (say these critics) that the British Empire,

for all its venerable antiquity, shows no signs of decay—is there anything in this equable growth to suggest the "New Era" prophesied by Mr. Amery? Could the Empire statesmen who met in Downing Street in 1926 perform a miracle of rejuvenation by proclaiming the obvious? Was not the old thing going on in the old way, and can the old way be bettered?

But those who speak thus completely miss Mr. Amery's point. Britain is indeed a State of ancient and venerable growth. But the British *Empire*, the *present* British Empire, the British Empire of which Mr. Amery speaks, is not only among the greatest of contemporary political facts; it is also among the newest. No doubt the national characteristics which, aided by national good luck, have produced this noteworthy result have their origin in a distant past. The kind of man who, since the middle of the eighteenth century, has sown the seeds of empire in every continent and under every sky is not a modern product. If he possesses, as I think he does, great political aptitude, a love of adventure, good humour, a passion for independence not inconsistent with a capacity for co-operation, an instinctive liking for Law and Order, and a deep-seated aversion to what seems arbitrary and cruel, let none suppose that these qualities are among the by-products of a recent civilization. They are not the results of any New Era. They are what make a New Era possible; and (as I will venture to add) are among the things which make it desirable.

Mr. Amery is careful to remind us that the Empire of which he speaks so eloquently is the second to which our small island has given birth. The thirteen American colonies, of which the first Empire in the main consisted, were the glory of the great age of discovery and colonization. They remained members of it long enough to take their part in foiling the French scheme of conquest which would have blocked any Anglo-Saxon title to the vast unoccupied regions which stretched westward to the Pacific Ocean. Then came our unhappy quarrel, and (this

time with French assistance) the political unity of Anglo-Saxon civilization was for ever destroyed. Thus did the *first* British Empire tumble into ruins.

Was the quarrel inevitable? And if so, why? The readers of Anglo-American history are so absorbed in the dramatic side of the struggle and its momentous issue that they pay scant attention to its fundamental causes. They are apt to think that the situation might easily have been dealt with had wiser statesmen and better generals taken a hand in the game, had more judgment and moderation been shown by the leaders of public opinion. Now the right men and the right temper were no doubt conspicuously lacking; but had they been present in abundance we may well doubt whether they could have solved the fundamental problem which *at that date* confronted men of British race on both sides of the Atlantic.

The nature of that problem can, I think, be most easily understood if we make abstractions of all local incident or picturesque colour and consider only the bare stages in the development of a typically British colony—a colony, I mean, where the colonists do not differ in race, temperament or political modes of thought from their fellow-citizens in the Mother Country. In its primitive stages indeed such a colony would probably be little interested in high constitutional issues. A handful of settlers, in a remote and savage land, have other things to think of than their exact status in the Imperial system, or their rights as against the British Crown or Parliament, on whose protection they must ultimately depend. It is only after this primitive stage has been passed, after population has grown, after cities have been built and trade solidly established, that the new communities would begin to ask embarrassing questions about their position as members of the Empire.

Now of all these questions the most embarrassing (before 1926) was in essence this—seeing (it was said) that British citizens in the Dominions do not differ in race, temperament or political capacity from British citizens in the

Mother Country, why should they occupy a different position in the scheme of Empire?

The only answer which could then be given was that the Dominions occupied British territory, that Britain was a very small island separated by very big oceans from the rest of her Empire, and that in consequence the representative portions of her constitution, though they could be copied, could not in practice be shared. The Empire could share the British King, but not the British House of Commons. Each Dominion must have its own.

The difficulty of welding a scattered Empire into an insular constitution may best be realized by contrasting the case of Britain with that of the United States. Both countries had to deal with developing communities. But the United States, unhampered by sundering oceans, found no difficulty in expanding their representative system as far and as fast as national frontiers and political prudence permitted. Like us they had to protect the first stages of advancing civilization; as in our case the success of the process gradually brought into being communities qualified to play their full part in the working of free institutions. But here unfortunately the parallel ends. The American constitution provided a place not only for unsettled territories, but for the States into which these territories were destined to develop. The constitution of Great Britain neither did nor could do anything of the kind. Geography forbade it.

Till the opening of the "New Era" only two ways of meeting the difficulty seemed possible. The first was to maintain unmodified the legal supremacy of the British Parliament, and, if need be, to make it effective. This was the course which brought the first British Empire to an unhappy close. The second was to leave the legal powers of the British Parliament untouched, but to exercise them only in the interests of the Colonies themselves, and after careful consideration of colonial opinion. This has worked admirably; and the early history of the present British Empire is there to prove it. Development has gone on

apace; Colonies have become Dominions; Dominions have become Nations; and these daughter nations have fought gloriously beside their Mother Country through the greatest war in history, and signed with her the Treaty of Versailles.

This second stage, then, was eminently satisfactory; but in the nature of things it could not be final. New nations had been created, but in law, if not in fact, full nationhood had not been granted. What then was to be the third stage?

When I was young only two answers to this question were ever suggested. The Dominions and the Mother Country might formally bind themselves together in a federal system; or they might formally separate and follow their several paths in indifferent isolation. But, on reflection, the first alternative seemed impracticable, and the second repulsive. A third policy had to be found; and found it was in the scheme of 1926—the policy of equal status and free co-operation—the policy of the "New Era," which gave to the self-governing portions of the Empire unalterable equality of status, while leaving to friendly arrangement the flexible distribution of function.

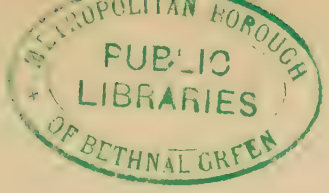
Doubtless there are some who think that union depending on ties so slender is indistinguishable from separation. If so, Mr. Amery's pages may convince them of their error. He is a passionate advocate of imperial co-operation, and has argued his case with singular energy and eloquence. I cannot doubt that he is right. Law without loyalty cannot strengthen the bonds of Empire, nor can we co-operate in handcuffs.

It may perhaps be supposed that complex loyalties are likely to be weakened loyalties. But this is surely a very great mistake. It may be just the other way. The undergraduate's liking for his University is increased by his liking for his college. Imperial patriotism may be supported and enriched by Dominion patriotism, but never need impair it. We must all of us gain by feeling that we are citizens of a greater world than that which occupies

our ordinary moments. On every ground therefore let us repudiate the policy of separation which was so calmly contemplated by our philosophic predecessors. That it would diminish national wealth and impair national security seems to me obvious; that it would hamper any form of productive co-operation between the scattered fragments of what had once been the British Empire will hardly be denied; that it would increase the liberty of autonomous development registered in 1926 will hardly be affirmed; that it would weaken the influence for peace of the English-speaking peoples is much to be feared. For such a doctrine there is nothing to be said. Let us then be grateful to Mr. Amery for his brilliant and courageous advocacy of a better way—the way of the "New Era."

BALFOUR.

WHITTINGEHAME,
September, 1928.



THE EMPIRE IN THE NEW ERA

I. ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

April 18th, 1928

I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your kindly welcome on my return from what you have called an Odyssey. I remember enough of my Homer to call to mind the fact that Odysseus was not only a wanderer but a learner, not only one who saw the cities of many men, but also one who knew their minds. My object was not only to see —and I saw much that was interesting and wonderful, much that was profoundly inspiring—but to learn something of the mind, the outlook, the aspirations and feelings of my fellow-citizens all round the world. One of the things, too, which I was particularly anxious to do, and which only a happy combination of political circumstances made possible, was to get what you have described as a simultaneous view—that is to say, to see the Empire not first in one part and then in another, always coming back again here, but to go round the Empire in one stretch, in order to compare each part with the rest at the same moment of time, to realize that to-day the British Empire, constitutionally as well as geographically, consists not of a centre and its outlying satellites, but is a girdle of free and equal nations encircling the whole earth. I was fortunate in being able to do so at what is a momentous time in the history of the world, as well as of the British Empire. The deepest impression which I have brought back with me from that journey is that both the Empire itself and the world in which it lives are standing to-day at the threshold of a new era in their history. We are

entering on a new phase of organization, both in the political and economical sphere, and the question we have to ask ourselves is whether the British Empire as it exists to-day is in conformity with the whole trend of world development, and can be so organized as to hold its own in that development. In the answer to that question lies our whole future, and in the hope of making some slight contribution towards that answer I propose to submit to you some of the considerations that are present in my mind.

The Imperial Conference of 1926 marked the close of one era in the history of the Empire—that of the gradual evolution from colonial self-government to full nationhood, and the beginning of another era under which the centrally directed Empire of the past has been replaced by a partnership in which the partners all stand on the same footing of freedom and equality. This coming into being of the new British nations by a process of peaceful evolution in the bosom of the British Empire is one of the most remarkable and important phenomena in all history. It has, perhaps, not attracted the same attention as the birth of other nations during the same period—the coming into being, for instance, of Germany and Italy in the last century, or the emergence of all the new nations which have been created or enlarged since the Great War. But the fact that it has taken place by peaceful evolution, unadvertised by struggle and conflict, does not detract from its essential importance, and from its bearing on the future development of the world. There is one feature which clearly differentiates the growth of nationhood in the British Empire from that of nationalism in Europe. The basis of Empire nationhood has been geographical and constitutional, not racial and linguistic. Traces of the other, European type of nationalism have no doubt shown themselves. I suppose one might almost say that the historian would treat the South African War as a struggle between the racial and linguistic conception of nationalism on the one side, and the geographical and constitutional conception on the other. In the main, however, the basis of nation-

hood in the British Empire has been the establishment of effective free government over areas by their extent and configuration most suitable for self-government, and by their position unsuitable to government and control from without.

Another feature which has distinguished that growth is that it has proceeded throughout, not against the opposition but with the concurrence and co-operation of the Mother Country. The growth of national freedom in the Dominions has never been, in principle, opposed from Downing Street. There never was any final limit set on the growth of responsible government from the earliest days onwards, and at each stage, as new powers and new rights were claimed, not unreasonably, but on practical grounds, they were gladly and willingly conceded. And so we have that steady growth by which small communities were entrusted first of all with purely local self-government ; then, as they grouped themselves into great Dominions, grew in population and wealth as well as in area, felt their strength and developed wider interests, were encouraged to assume new responsibilities and to claim new powers. That development the Great War did not change, but certainly greatly accelerated. At the close of that War the Dominions received their formal international recognition as the equals in national status of any outside power —the right of separate signature at Peace Conferences, the right of separate representation on the League of Nations, and, since then, the right, so far as they may find it necessary and desirable, of separate representation in foreign capitals.

One result, both of the essential character of Dominion nationhood and of the manner of its development, has been that the growth of national spirit in the Empire has never, as such, been in opposition to the sentiment of Empire. The two sentiments have rarely been antagonistic, never incompatible. Sometimes they have competed with each other; more often they have complemented each other. Again and again the very events which have been created by Imperial sentiment, or strengthened Imperial

sentiment, have been no less effective in evoking and strengthening national sentiment. It was the call of Empire that sent men from all the Dominions to South Africa, and to the Great War. In every case the achievements of their men in the field contributed no little to the growth of national self-confidence and the consciousness of national individuality. Right through the whole of this process of the development of constitutional freedom and national spirit we have seen a corresponding growth of an Imperial sentiment compounded of many elements—a large element of community of race and speech, an even larger element of community of political methods and ideals, a great body of common tradition, common material interests, and, not least, the interest of our common security. These things are symbolized for us all in the Crown, and in other symbols such as the flag.

But the Crown is not a mere symbol. It is also a very real constitutional and organic bond of union. We should never forget that in virtue of the fact that we have one common Crown—not separate Crowns, as was once the case when England and Hanover were linked by a mere personal union—we are all of us fellow-subjects of that Crown, and the British Empire, while in one sense composed of Governments working in complete independence of each other, is also, in another sense, one single indissoluble body corporate of the King and his subjects. That fact colours all the relationships of Empire. As subjects of the King, all inhabitants of the Empire owe loyalty not only to the King, but, in virtue of their loyalty to him, to each other. All the Parliaments of the Empire are Parliaments in which the same Crown is an integral part, and Members who have sworn the oath of allegiance to that Crown have always not only their immediate obligation towards their own constituents, but the obligation of reconciling the interests of those constituents with the wider interests of all their fellow-subjects under the Crown, always bearing in mind the mutual support and the co-operation they owe to the whole Empire. His Majesty's

Ministers of the different Governments of the Empire are all fellow-servants of the same Crown, and, as such, in a very real sense, colleagues, as is well understood by any of us who have ever taken part in an Imperial Conference. That obligation of mutual support and co-operation which flows from the fact of a common Crown, constitutes, so to speak, the Common Law of the Empire—a Common Law which is enforced, not by any central authority, but by the free action of all the Governments and peoples that live under the Crown. The Imperial Conference, when registering the position at which we had arrived two years ago, clearly recognized this double aspect of the constitutional evolution of the Empire. Side by side with its clear definition of the absolute mutual freedom of the constituent elements of our Commonwealth, it laid a no less clear emphasis on the position of the Crown, and, in many respects, as in the form in which Treaties are negotiated, and in the use of the title of "His Majesty's Government" for every one of the Governments in the Empire, laid even more stress than has been customary in the past on the unifying power of the Crown as a very real and practical as well as sentimental link of Empire.

I know there are some who have regarded our conclusions with misgiving, and who have felt that in some ways they represented a weakening of the bonds which hold the Empire together. I doubt if there is any bond that has had the slightest real value for a generation past, that was affected in any way by our conclusions. I believe, on the other hand, that by those conclusions we cleared up many misunderstandings which were obstacles to Imperial unity, and brought out more clearly the true nature of the bonds which unite us. It is true that at this moment there is nothing whatever to prevent the British Empire breaking up—nothing except the will of its peoples to remain united. That will has proved itself in the past. Is there any reason to suppose that the will to unity will be less strong in the future? It is equally true that there is nothing in those conclusions to prevent closer union, more effective organiza-

tion of our resources in foreign policy, in defence, in trade, in communications, in migration—nothing to prevent, but on the other hand everything, not only in the momentum of our traditions, but, above all, in the pressure of forces from the outside world, to make closer union more desirable. I admit that at the present time our organization as a partnership can only be described as rudimentary. In foreign affairs, the British Government still carries on with substantially the old machinery, supplemented by a much greater regularity and intimacy of communication with the Dominions. In defence, too, the position is only changing gradually. The major burden still rests with the Mother Country. In the field of economic development—the fundamental aspect which underlies everything else—well, it would be difficult to say that any organization exists at all. That, then, is the position which the British Empire, regarded by itself, has reached at the opening of this new era in the world's affairs.

Let me now turn to the world outside, and first of all, to that part of the world which is nearest to us, and which has most engaged our attention in the last few years. I mean the continent of Europe. There, as the result of a great war, or perhaps I should rather say, the apparent result, we have seen the fulfilment of the ideal of racial nationalism, an ideal which has been a tremendous force in European politics for the last century. It is an ideal which has also, to-day, become a very real force amongst Eastern nations, who had never realized it before, and who at this moment are inspired by it with a passion which is dying out very rapidly elsewhere. But in Europe, on the very morrow of its fulfilment in the Treaty of Versailles, there is a profound disillusionment everywhere about the whole conception of racial nationalism as the ultimate basis of political organization. The countries of Europe, now that they have recovered from the emotions of war, are discovering that where races live intermingled there is no frontier you can draw on the principle of " self-determination " which does not leave an Irredenta outside, and that to-day there are

as many Irredentas in Europe as before the War, every one of which means that some nation or other lives in dread or hope of a future war. Moreover, the splitting up of Europe into so many smaller units—the Balkanization of Europe—not only multiplies the occasions of war and adds to the burden of armaments, but also, through the multiplication of all the barriers to intercourse created by new tariff, passport and railway frontiers, constitutes a most serious impediment to the free economic development of Europe, whether regarded from the point of view of industrial expansion or from that of the standard of living of the working population. Lastly, the peoples of Europe are beginning to realize how greatly Europe has shrunk in importance since the Great War as compared with the great extra-European Powers. They realize that all the navies of Europe added together would be no match for either the British or the American Navy, or even for the Japanese Navy outside of European waters. Formidable as the great sum total of their armies may be, they know that, for action in the wider sphere of the world which is developing outside, those armies are a source not of strength and influence, but only of weakness, the price paid for Europe's internal divisions. In the economic sphere the business men and the working men of Europe are beginning to realize that, in spite of low wages and longer hours, they are too split up into small units to compete successfully, in the outside world, with the mass production of a highly organized unitary community like the United States.

Consequently, there is beginning to grow up on the very morrow of Versailles the idea of some general European combination—what has been called Pan-Europa. While they regard the League of Nations as not without value, its advocates feel that it is, on the one side, for world purposes, not comprehensive enough, excluding, as it does, the United States, and on the other side, from the point of view of European needs, too comprehensive because it includes powers like the nations of the British Empire and the South American States, which are too different in out-

look and interests to be able to enter whole-heartedly into purely European schemes. In their view, if only the European nations could agree upon permanent peace based on the abandonment of the aggressive doctrine of racial nationalism, and replace it by a new gospel of cultural and linguistic toleration, then the present frontiers might continue or be modified by peaceful agreement, and the dreaded future wars need never arise. If, at the same time the European nations in some measure pooled their colonial territories by opening them to each other freely and whole-heartedly, there would be ample room for development for all, a field of endeavour in the opening up of which Germany could forget her disappointment, and Italy satisfy her need for expansion.

This Pan-European conception is one which has been profoundly influenced by the study of the development of the British Empire. It is one which, to-day, aims not so much at a federation of Europe on the analogy of the United States, but rather at something based on the analogy of the British Empire, a larger and more flexible system aiming at the creation of a common European interest, embracing mutually tolerant national sentiments, with the fostering of mutual trade and with co-operation in the development of a Colonial Empire separately administered, but regarded as a common heritage and responsibility for all Europe. That movement as a political movement is still, of course, only a tendency. No one can say whether it will come to fruition. I think it will, some day. But side by side, and taking effect much more rapidly, is a European movement in the business world for effective combination—for the growth of cartels and rationalization schemes to enable the nations of Europe in some measure to hold their own against American competition, and also to raise the standard of living and the standard of the wages of those engaged in these industries. A co-ordinated, a "rationalized" Europe, then, is one of the new factors which we have to envisage if we are going to look forward to the future and not merely live in terms of the past.

Meanwhile, there is an even more formidable present reality in the world to-day, and that is the United States. There you have, in the economic sphere at any rate, an organization of whose power and wealth we, in the Old World, have only a dim conception. I do not know if even figures are enough to give any idea of the tremendous gulf which separates the United States, as an economic entity, from those nations of the world which, till only the other day, were considered great nations. The United States, to-day, has within its territory more railways than all the rest of the world. It uses more power, whether in steam or oil or electricity, than all the rest of the world. While its population is barely 6 per cent. of the world's population, it consumes nearly three-fourths of the world's production of rubber and oil, and two-thirds of the world's silk. Of 24,500,000 motor vehicles of all sorts in the world, nearly 20,000,000 exist in the United States, and less than 1,000,000 in the United Kingdom, whilst 61 per cent. of the world's telephones are in the United States. Whether judged by the standard of power, of efficiency of communication, or of luxury consumption, their whole organization is on a different plane to that of the Old World. It is a plane of immense mass production, enabling great wealth to be achieved by the individual, enabling the worker to earn wages far in excess of those earned in the Old World, enabling the whole mechanism of industry to revolve at a greater pace, and with a more powerful momentum than in any of our narrow and circumscribed economic areas.

Nor is it possible to regard the United States as standing wholly by themselves. They, too, are in their way, becoming the leading partner in a great Empire. It seems to me that Central and Southern America are gradually and, perhaps inevitably, coming more and more under American influence, and, in a measure, American domination. I know there are many difficulties in the way of the development of that wider Pan-American Union; some of them were made very clear at a meeting

at Havana not long ago. The fact remains that the meeting at Havana was a Conference not altogether different in its essential character from our own Imperial Conference.

We are face to face with the gradual emergence of a new type of greater unity, economic and political, in the world's affairs. We have to realize that what we shall be confronted with is, on the one side, the immense standardized mass production of the United States, covering a group of nations with some 200,000,000 of people, and with some 12,500,000 square miles largely undeveloped. On the other hand, we may have, through the gradual coming closer together of Europe and its colonies, another great unit of over 400,000,000 people with nearly 10,000,000 square miles of territory to develop. At the back of these, potentially capable of organization on American lines, lie the Russian Empire, with its 150,000,000 people and 9,000,000 square miles, and the Chinese Empire, with 400,000,000 people and 4,000,000 square miles, the former possibly becoming eventually an annex of Europe, the latter, perhaps, guided and influenced in large measure by Japan.

What is our position going to be in face of these developments? Take Great Britain. Look at our economic position as it stands to-day. I need not go into all the difficulties which have faced our trade since the War. We have, I think, long ago got over the optimism which ascribed our difficulties to immediate post-War troubles in Europe, and which assured us that all would be right in a few years. On the contrary, all is not right, and is likely to be less right as years go on. The movement for greater free trade among the European nations is not going to mean greater free trade for Britain. On the contrary, we are going to be met with increasing competition from European production organized on a much larger scale, with all the advantages for many years to come of far lower wages. Our wages to-day are on an average 60 per cent. above German wages, 80 per cent. above French,

100 per cent. above Italian, 112 per cent. above Belgian. Given equal efficiency on their part, or given the same scale of production, how can we hope to stand up against them, or against the immense power of American mass production? On the other hand, look at the position of the Dominions. What chance have they either against the mass production of American industries or even against American primary production, whose fluctuating surplus in many lines may in any year be greater than their whole output?

In these conditions there are only two alternatives. One is to drift on, with the certain result that, from a position of ever-increasing relative weakness, Great Britain, on the one side, will eventually have to be absorbed inside the European Economic Union, while the Dominions will gravitate, as subordinate economic dependencies, towards the great American Union. In the long run, that can mean nothing but the break-up of the Empire. The other alternative is that the nations of the Empire should get together effectively in order to make use of their resources. When we come to that, we know that none of the great groups I have mentioned can compare with our Empire, which covers nearly 15,000,000 square miles, including some of the richest countries in the world, with over 450,000,000 people. It is within our power, if only we are willing and ready to develop the wider home market of the Empire, to solve both the industrial problems of Great Britain and the economic problems of the Dominions. Without interfering with the free development of economic life in each part of the Empire, we can, by combining our external purchasing power, build up a scale of production which will enable us to hold our own, and far more than hold our own, with either the United States or with Europe. We can make of Pan-Britannia a far greater thing in every sense, and for every end, than either Pan-America or Pan-Europa can ever be. But we must be prepared to convert that vision into a reality. I shall not attempt to-night to develop in detail the question of Empire co-

operation. That co-operation will naturally and inevitably cover a very wide field—inter-communication, migration, co-operation in research, co-operation in everything which affects economic development. At the same time, I am more profoundly convinced to-day than ever before, that effective fiscal preference is an essential and indispensable element in our development. I for my part, cannot believe that a great nation like ours, which has led the world in so many fields of thought and endeavour, is going to be for ever held back from a great creative policy by blind fanatical adherence to the outworn theories of another age, or by the fears of politicians of each other's capacity for misrepresentation, or of the timidity and gullibility of the electorate.

I may, perhaps, seem to you something of a dreamer. Well, coming back, as I do, with my mind full of the vision of all I have seen, of all the wonderful resources which have been like a picture spread before my eyes month after month, with a sense of all the living pulsating energy, the national and Imperial spirit which I have met with wherever I have gone, I am inclined to think that the dreamers are those who are incapable of realizing that a new day with new problems is before us, and who only mutter resentfully at anyone who attempts to wake them. I have come back with an appreciation of the many difficulties which beset the problem of Imperial organization, but also with a profound conviction that there is not one of them that good-will cannot overcome. I have come back with an unbounded confidence that to-day we are only at the beginning of the British Empire, and that wonderful as its history has been in the past, the most splendid chapters of that history are still to be written. All we need is vision, faith, and will; the broad view, the forward view, the courage to act.

SOUTH AFRICA

II. CIVIC RECEPTION, TOWN HALL, CAPE TOWN.

August 8th, 1927

Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I need not tell you how deeply both Mrs. Amery and I myself appreciate the courtesy and the kindliness of your welcome here. I appreciate this welcome all the more because, for me at any rate, landing under the shadow of Table Mountain is not a new and strange experience, but rather a home-coming to once familiar scenes which have never in the long years between lost their appeal or ceased to call me back; an awakening of old associations linked with the most impressionable years of my own life, as well as with the most critical and troubled days in the shaping of South Africa's national and imperial destiny. Many of those whom I knew best and of whom I took counsel in those days—Cecil Rhodes, Alfred Milner, Hofmeyr and Schreiner, Sauer and Jameson, and last to leave you, but not least interesting as a personality, John X. Merriman: to mention but a few names—have passed into the domain of history which alone can judge impartially of their claim to greatness or of their contribution to South Africa. Other old friendships, not a few I am glad to think, I count on renewing, during the weeks—the all too brief weeks—of my stay in the Union.

It is as old friends too, unchanging in their harmonious dignity, that my eyes and my heart have already greeted the noble trinity of mountains which encompass Table Bay, and it is as to the rekindling of old and treasured intimacies that I look forward on my return from up country to passing a few days in Cape Town, amid all that beauty of nature which more than three centuries ago

drew from Sir Francis Drake his praise of the Cape of Good Hope as "the fairest Cape in the whole circumference of the Earth," as well as with what man has added to that beauty in stately buildings, in shady plantations, and in the lovely gardens of which you are so proud here in Cape Town. I shall lift my eyes again to the great bastions of Table Mountain towering over the old oaks of Wynberg or overshadowing the blue sea of Camps Bay. I shall gaze once more from Constantia Nek, or it may be from the Memorial at Groote Schuur, across the spreading flats at those Delectable Mountains, beyond which lies the unending expanse of that North of which Rhodes dreamed as the heritage and responsibility of the nation whose cradle was here in the old Cape Peninsula.

We all know how the Cape, which its discoverer, Bartholomew Dias, named the Cape of Storms, was rechristened by the King of Portugal as the Cape of Good Hope, for the promise it gave of the long-sought sea route to the golden East. It has since become the Cape of Good Hope in a sense then undreamt of, that of good hope for Africa itself, for that great and rich continent so long hidden in darkness and mystery but now being opened up to European civilization with almost breathless rapidity throughout its whole extent. In the long run that civilization can only endure if it is based on the existence of a white population firmly rooted in African soil, united within itself and conscious of the greatness of its task and of its destiny. Nowhere, I imagine—and your speech, Mr. Mayor, gave eloquent proof of it—is that consciousness deeper than here in this city which in its history has been at once the gateway for the commerce and the security of two oceans and the starting-point and focus of European civilization on the Continent of Africa.

You have spoken, Mr. Mayor, with sympathy and approval of the tour which I am making round the circle of the nations of the British Commonwealth. My object in that tour is first and foremost to see and to learn so that I may the more usefully discharge my duty as the member

of the British Cabinet specially charged with the task of maintaining co-operation with the partner Governments of the Empire. It is in the next place, to contribute on behalf of the British Government, its share in the maintenance of that continuity of personal contact between the Governments which our experience at Imperial Conferences and elsewhere has shown us to be indispensable to mutual understanding and to the effective conduct of the business which we have to transact with each other or in common. Those may be very simple objects; possibly in the eyes of some too commonplace and unsensational to justify many months of absence from the duties of two great Offices, and from the deliberations of the Cabinet and of the Parliament of which I am a member. I think otherwise. Understanding and sympathy are the all-essential elements in our free and equal Imperial co-operation, and there is no effort to increase the one or to strengthen the other which is not well worth making.

I look forward with the keenest interest to all that I shall see of South Africa during the next few weeks, much of it so familiar and yet all of it, as you yourself suggested, so transformed by the progress which has taken place in every direction in recent years. I look forward no less to meeting the men in whose hands lie the destinies of South Africa, and renewing the friendships made at the last Imperial Conference as well as friendships of older years; to adding, I hope, new friendships to the many ties which already bind me to South Africa. I am glad to think, Mr. Mayor, that the first step of my pilgrimage of Empire has been to South Africa, where I gained my first experience alike of the deep-seated difficulties of our problems and of the immense hopefulness of the task with which we are all confronted in the building up of our Imperial Commonwealth, and I am glad that my first visit in South Africa is to this beautiful Mother City of hers, to which I am bound by so many memories and associations.

III. CIVIC RECEPTION, KIMBERLEY.

August 24th, 1927

Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The journey I have begun in South Africa is one which I hope in time to come will be regarded as part of the normal duty of a British Minister in my position—the duty of maintaining personal touch with his colleagues in the partner Governments of the Empire and returning the courtesy which they show when they come long distances to meet together in London at our periodical Imperial Conferences, and also, as you have reminded me, of seeing, of learning and understanding, the needs, the interests, the sentiments and aspirations of our fellow-citizens across the seas. For me this journey has a special interest, because I am not visiting the Dominions for the first time and receiving all that blur of unfamiliar impressions which crowd the mind in a strange country. After many years I am coming back to countries once very familiar to me.

Your very cordial welcome reminds me of the fact that I once missed, by a few hours, taking part in another welcome by one of your predecessors, Mr. Mayor, an open-air welcome, a little less formal, but certainly not less wholehearted and spontaneous. I mean the welcome you citizens of Kimberley gave General French and his troopers when they rode in, if I remember rightly, on the 16th February twenty-seven years ago. I made my first visit to Kimberley a few days later. I came in from Paardeberg, and on that occasion I lunched with Mr. Rhodes at the Sanatorium. There was a distinguished company; Lord Kitchener and Lord Roberts were both, I think, at that lunch—the one just returned from his victory over General

Cronje, the other from an expedition sent to deal with trouble somewhere near Prieska. There were other eminent persons present. But what I remember of the conversation at that lunch was that Mr. Rhodes would not let us talk either about the siege of Kimberley, or about the fortunes of the South African War, but insisted on talking about the future of South Africa. It was part of the greatness of the man that he was always thinking of the future, and would never let present troubles divert him from the goal on which his eyes were fixed.

What has been so interesting to me in the last week or so, is to see how much of Mr. Rhodes's dream is already being fulfilled. He dreamt of a great British territory to the north of South Africa, as it then was, a territory extending from the Limpopo and from north of Kimberley right away to the Great Lakes in the heart of Africa—a territory at that time still plunged in barbarism, but which he believed would become the home of prosperous industries, of a great mining industry, of prosperous agriculture, but above all a country of happy homes, imbued with the British tradition and British ideals. That dream is being translated into reality before our own eyes. The change that has come over Rhodesia in the last twenty-five years is very remarkable. You have there a prosperous community which has overcome the hardships and difficulties and disappointments of earlier days: it is now marching confidently forward towards what it believes is a great destiny. Even further north the enterprise of business men like Sir Ernest Oppenheimer (whom we see here), and those associated with him are opening up districts with great mineral deposits far beyond the Zambesi. With mineral development comes farming development and the building up of a nation.

I have passed, too, in the last two days through that Bechuanaland Protectorate, to which Rhodes attached such immense importance as the "corridor," the "Suez Canal" to the North, but which he always regarded as a territory, though perhaps less fertile than some of the countries to

the north, with great capacity and well worth developing for the benefit both of its native inhabitants and of European settlers. There too, I believe, is the beginning of greater progress than we have seen before. I have only had a passing glimpse going from Cape Town to Pretoria—I hope to see a great deal more of the Union during the next month—but I have already seen enough to recognize that there also, economic development is proceeding apace, and is, I think, destined to proceed even more rapidly in the years to come.

As to political development, you know that Rhodes, Imperialist as he was in the very fibre of his being, was never a racialist. He looked towards a great South African nation, united within itself, weaving together strands of different strong racial elements and different traditions, tolerant in outlook, free from all rancour or racial bitterness, confident in the belief of its future destiny, proud of its position here at the farthest, though not the least fertile, end of a great Continent; a nation convinced of its opportunity and responsibility in shaping the destiny of the whole of that Continent, now being opened up so wonderfully to modern civilization; no less convinced of its responsibility and of its privilege in playing a great part in shaping the destinies of the world through its partnership in the British Empire. He believed, as we believe, the Empire to be the greatest organization for progress, peace and above all for human development, that the world has ever seen, an organization built up not on subjection but on free partnership,—a free partnership in which the partners are all equal, not perhaps equal in size or in experience or in accumulated wealth, but equal in their right to act freely, equal also in responsibilities and privileges, playing a worthy part in the destiny of the world.

That, I believe, was Rhodes's dream, and you, who were his fellow-citizens for so many years and with whom he stood in good fortune and in anxious days, I know are the sharers of that dream and will work, after him, to make it good. You have in your midst business men carrying on

successfully that unique industry upon which your prosperity depends. I believe among them too the tradition which Rhodes built up still holds good, that this great industry and the wealth created by it, exist to afford them an opportunity of playing their part not only for the good of this city, but also for the welfare of South Africa as a whole.

IV. CIVIC LUNCHEON, PIETERMARITZBURG.

SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1927

Mr. Mayor, Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The last time I came to Pietermaritzburg was under very different circumstances; it was in November, 1899. I had been engaged the day before as a war correspondent, watching the battle which was fought outside Estcourt, at Willow Grange. The despatches of that date celebrated it as a notable British victory. My recollection of it was that we tumbled back into Estcourt with our tails a little bit between our legs, and with a general conviction that Estcourt, like Ladysmith, was likely to be invested by the Boer forces for some time to come. As I had a number of correspondents depending on me, I did not relish that prospect, and I consulted with a friend whose farm lay between Estcourt and Mooi River, as to the possibilities of getting out. He told me his Kaffirs had reported that all roads out of Estcourt were held by the Boers, and that one of their commandoes was actually camped on his own farm, and that the camp was in two detachments with a small gap between. I suggested that the last place where they would have a sentinel would be between the two sections of their own camp. So we set out at night in pouring rain and at the start nearly got drowned in the Bushman's River, into which we rode by mistake. During the next few hours we forded many swollen streams, and plunged down many bottomless dongas in the pitch-dark night, but my guide brought me in the end with absolute accuracy to the Boer laager, and we rode stealthily through the gap between the tents. Then we found that we had forgotten one small

item, namely, the barbed wire fence. We began cutting that and it went off with a clang like a dinner gong. So we were not surprised when we heard the shouting of sentries and a certain amount of firing. We scrambled on to our ponies and galloped off into the dark, hotly pursued, as I heard many months later from one of the pursuers, almost to Mooi River, where I got on to a goods train, and presently arrived in Maritzburg with my clothes torn to pieces and plastered in mud from head to foot. I went to the nearest shop and bought a slop suit and then presented myself to General Clery and told him about the battle of Willow Grange, about which up to then he had had no information. That was my first muddy entrance into Maritzburg. Those were memorable and thrilling days—days in which Natal did her duty to the Empire. They are days long ago passed. You are now a united South African nation, and whatever minor differences may divide the people of South Africa, I believe they will always be one nation together in good times and ill.

Since then I have only visited Natal once and that was shortly after the South African War. I came by a route not I think used before or since. A friend of mine had invited me to go up Mont-aux-Sources from Harrismith, and when he had to go back from the summit I said that I would like to go down to Natal, and that I could trust myself to find my own way down the face of the mountain, which I did with some difficulty dragging a very reluctant Basuto boy with me down a snow and ice gully leading down into the Sinyati or Mweni valley. I took away with me a deep impression of the wonderful beauty of the country below the Berg, and for twenty-five years I have cherished the hope of revisiting that country. Thanks to the courtesy and hospitality of your Provincial Government I have just spent five delightful days in your National Park. I wonder how many South Africans, or even Natalians, know what a paradise of mountain beauty is contained in the slopes immediately below that great battlemented cliff which extends all the way from Cathkin Peak

to Mont-aux-Sources—a country with a beauty all its own, mountains not as high as the Alps or the Rockies, but comparable in their own beauty of colouring, boldness of shape, in atmosphere, with anything I have seen in mountain scenery all round the world. Yesterday I was in the Gorge right under the Tugela Fall, where one looks up at the bold fantastic peaks of the Berg jutting into the sky, and below them at great walls of yellow and red rock descending to the wonderful blue green of the old native forests climbing up in the kloofs, or to the open slopes, russet in their winter colouring or green with young grass after burning. I have never seen anything in its way more beautiful than that, and alongside the tumbling streams and the clear blue pools, like natural bathing pools carved out of the rock by water.

It is a rare delight to spend a few days in a place like that, and if I may venture, Sir George, to make a suggestion, I hope it will not be taken as a criticism. Your National Park at present only covers one face of one of your mountains. It occupies a most beautiful valley. But there are valleys next to it and beyond that again all the way along the face of the Berg, all worth cherishing as a National Park and developing for the benefit and happiness of your own people and of visitors from overseas. I should like, if I may, to draw my own picture, having no responsibility either for Provincial or Union finance. I would suggest the inclusion in the National Park of the actual foothills of the Berg all the way along, the construction of a good bridle-path winding along the most beautiful scenery, and here and there the provision of a commodious, comfortable and not too expensive hostel like the delightful hostel where I have just been staying. I believe that in that way you would provide something that would add enormously to the joy of life of the citizens of Natal, and of all the people of South Africa, and you would do it at no cost to yourselves in the long run, because after all one of the greatest resources of any country are its natural beauties, if they are wisely used. You know well enough how much

of the money of the Rand is spent every year on your blue seashore at Durban and all along your coast, and without detracting from that I believe you could draw no little of the wealth of your neighbours and indeed of countries overseas into your beautiful Alpine world.

If you have a beautiful shore and a beautiful mountain boundary to attract visitors for their health, what have you got to offer to those who would like to live with you for good? Coming down in the train just now, Mrs. Amery suddenly said to me, "I want a farm in Natal, please." I do not know if either my time or my means will allow me to gratify that little wish, but what I do feel —I felt it in the old days, but I feel it still more coming through the country and seeing how it has changed in twenty-five years—is that Natal is, indeed, not only the Garden Province but a Province to attract men to make their homes in. You have added enormously to its beauty by the planting of trees. Nothing struck me more than what you have done in the way of afforestation, apart from what it may have helped to win in actual revenue, to add to the beauty and homeliness of your countryside. I do not know any part of the British Empire—and there are few with which I am not familiar—which can offer a more attractive home than Natal, attractive because of the charm of its landscape, attractive because of the fertility of its soil, and no less attractive because of the community among which they would settle. I hope that it may be possible within the years to come that a steady stream of the best type of settlers will come and add themselves to the splendid community which you and your forefathers have built up here.

I sometimes wonder—I say it in no sense of criticism —whether South Africa as a whole has given enough thought to the problem of bringing in fresh white blood to strengthen her community. I saw from the newspaper the other day that a colleague of mine in the British Parliament, a member of the Labour Party, had suggested that South Africa should at once bring in hundreds of thousands

of British unemployed to solve South Africa's problems, and incidentally our own. I am not sure that things can be done in that drastic fashion. You have got to take into account the whole social structure of South Africa, and the position of the native population. There are many considerations that preclude any such wholesale solutions of the problem. Nevertheless, I think that any permanent solution of South Africa's problem must depend on securing a steady inflow of the best type of settlers into this country. I say it without speaking in any way in disparagement of the splendid type of native that exists in this country, or of other races that have made their home here, that it would be a disaster if the white race in South Africa were merged into the coloured population. But if it is to develop and to maintain its own individuality, it must be reinforced by fresh streams of blood coming into the country from overseas, and coming, best, I think, from races kindred to those who already inhabit the country.

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V. CIVIC DINNER, DURBAN.

SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1927

Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you most sincerely for so hearty a welcome, and I thank you, Mr. Mayor, for your kindly speech. I recognized in it the ring of pride—just pride—which I know so well at home; the pride in municipal work done well for a great city and for its people. I have the privilege of representing in Parliament a great city in the heart of England, a city that boasts a great Imperial tradition, but that also boasts that it is in the forefront of the municipal life of the Empire; and I am interested to find that if Durban thinks it needs any advice on finance it goes to a former Treasurer of Birmingham to help it.

I agree very heartily with one thing you said, Mr. Mayor, and that is, that the time I am able to give to Durban during my tour round the British Dominions is far too short to enable me to appreciate sufficiently the marvellous changes which the last twenty-eight years have brought about in your city. I remember very well the first time I arrived in Durban. I came in very welcome company. I came on board Her Majesty's ship *Terrible*, bringing round the guns that at one moment were thought to be necessary for the defence of Durban itself, but which did such good work on the Tugela afterwards. For three days in a stormy south-easter we rolled through some 45 degrees, while the sailors were dismantling the guns and fitting them with their land carriages, working as only British sailors can; and by the time we reached the outskirts of the then port of Durban, we thought we had done the most difficult part of our task. I am not sure that the landing of the guns and men under the conditions that

were then prevalent in Durban Harbour in a south-easter was not the greater. A few weeks later I left Durban, in a little steamer with an attractive Zulu name—the only thing attractive about it—which, I believe, was the only kind of craft that could get into Durban inside the harbour in those days. You have changed all that. The enterprise and determination of Durban men, triumphing over great natural difficulties, has made your city one of the great seaports of the British Empire. A great export, import and fuelling port—a port too, which, as you, Mr. Mayor, have reminded us, could in times of danger or difficulty afford the facilities of a graving dock to any ship in His Majesty's Navy. That is a great advance.

I think that one of the characteristics of the great seaports of the Empire, wherever they be situated—London or Liverpool, or Bristol, of which you were once a citizen, Mr. Mayor, or Montreal, or Sydney, or Auckland—is this, that in them there exists a peculiarly keen understanding of the meaning of the word "Empire." The citizens of a great seaport are in a very special sense in direct contact with the fundamental mechanism of national and international life. They are in a position to realize the economic inter-dependence of their own country with other countries in the Empire and with the rest of the world. They can grasp what it is perhaps more difficult for those who live up-country to grasp, that the life of a nation does not end with its geographical boundary or with its electoral constituencies, but extends beyond right along the whole length of its sea communications and to its markets across the seas. That is why, in a peculiar sense, problems of Empire appeal naturally and simply to the citizens of great maritime cities, and are often ignored or less clearly realized by those living away from the frontier of the sea and from contact with the outer world. I hope, therefore, ladies and gentlemen, as I address to-night the citizens of no mean city among the great seaports of the Empire, I shall be forgiven if I devote my speech entirely to those problems of our Imperial relationship

upon which you, Mr. Mayor, touched in the course of your speech.

The most remarkable thing about the British Empire is its capacity for adjustment to meet the needs of changing times. The British Empire has been in our own day in a state of continuous transformation. I believe that to be a sign, not of decay but of vitality, not of decrepitude but of what I believe to be eternal youth. The forces of life and readjustment are so vigorous in the British Empire, the inner impulse of growth and of unity so strong, that it can give play to the forces of national life and of individual self-expression within it without necessarily weakening the fabric as a whole or diminishing its power to do good in the world. When we think of it, there has really been no development in modern times more remarkable than the growth within the bosom of the British Empire of that group of free nations known as the British Dominions. History has a great deal to say about various nations whose area is scarcely half that of one of your provinces, whose destiny can never be equal to that of one of the British Dominions, which have recently acquired or revived independence in the course of some great international struggle. The struggle has drawn attention to the fact that they exist, but in the case of the British nations something far greater from the point of view of the future of the world has come into being almost unnoticed, because it has come into being by a process of peaceful evolution and because the growth into full nationhood, and more than an ordinary nationhood, has come about without any severance of the ties that bind the British nations to each other.

On that process of development the seal was set by last year's Imperial Conference. In one sense there was nothing new in that Conference, nothing that was not inherent, from the first, in the grant of free responsible government to the various scattered colonies which have since grown up into the British Dominions. It was never part of our conception of self-government that it should be definitely limited in its scope—limited at any rate in

principle, for as long, of course, as certain aspects of national and international life were obviously more conveniently dealt with by the Mother Country and were of no particular interest to the Colonies or Dominions, they were exercised by the Mother Country alone. But that was a matter of convenience and never the assertion of a right on the part of the Mother Country to exercise powers or privileges permanently and on principle denied to a Dominion, or to claim for its own citizens a status higher than that of British citizens in any other part of the Empire.

If, on the one hand, last year's Conference contained nothing new, yet on the other hand, like many other memorable British documents of State, it registered, clearly and beyond all misunderstanding, the point which we had reached. It did so by common agreement. I should like to remind you that the constitutional conclusions of that Conference did not represent the pressure of one section carried out successfully against the objections of another, but represented the views of every Dominion and of every political party. The basis of that agreement was the equal status of British citizens in every Dominion and the equal status of the Dominions among themselves—and for this purpose I include the United Kingdom among the Dominions. For, as the Dominions have risen in Imperial status, so in another sense Great Britain has become a Dominion herself. Equality of status does not mean of course that the population of South Africa is as great as that of Great Britain; it does not mean that we are all equal in accumulated wealth or in defensive power, or in diplomatic experience, or for that matter in the extent of our natural resources. What it does mean is that there is no power or function of national life which cannot, as a matter of right, be exercised by any one of the partner nations.

How they should be exercised as a matter of convenience is for us to agree among ourselves mutually. What the Conference did lay down is that, while in practice we

should work as is most convenient for us all, through the mechanism most suitable for the purpose, there is no question of any power or right being denied to any Dominion by any other. That same equality also implies clearly that there is no subordination on the part of any one nation in the Empire to any other, no claim on the part of any of us, even the oldest, to a prerogative or a privilege which is denied to the others. Similarly there is no subordination of all of us to a common federal Constitution. Such a Constitution has in the past been dreamt of by many. For all I know, the time may come again when, with the narrowing of the world and with the development of communications, these things may come within the range of practical discussion: they are not within the range of practical discussion in our time.

What the Conference declared was that, working in free and equal partnership, we remain united together, because underlying all our diversity, underlying our individual freedom, inherent in each of our constitutions, is that common Crown which is a symbol of all our loyalties, which by our loyalty to it, binds us to be loyal and helpful to each other, and which embodies in a single institution all the traditions and ideals of our associated peoples. I know there are those who will ask, "Where is the Empire in all this? What is really left of any effective bond of unity to hold the whole together?" You, Mr. Mayor, have already used my own words on a previous occasion in saying that, as far as I am concerned, I did not believe that any bond that had binding force or effective power was lessened at the last Imperial Conference. The real thing is that the Empire, as was once said of the Kingdom of Heaven, is within us. It is an inherent part of the constitution of each partner nation; inherent in our constitutions because each of them includes the same indivisible Crown as part of it; inherent in that common citizenship, the common status of British subject, which still underlies and will continue to underly all our local differences of political rights and citizenship in the narrower sense;

inherent in that loyalty to each other which our common citizenship and our common Crown postulate. In other words, the privilege, the pride, the responsibility of being an Imperial nation belongs to-day, not merely to Great Britain, but to each one of her partners. For each nation in the Empire the Empire is not something outside, not an external power imposed upon it. It is a part of its own national life; an enhancement, a greater dignity, a greater importance, and a greater responsibility added to that national life.

In Great Britain we have long been familiar with that conception. Nobody has really thought of English patriotism and Imperial patriotism as separate and conflicting things. It is only because that conception is still, to some extent, unfamiliar in the Dominions, where the Empire has been regarded as something accepted from without rather than as something owned from within, that you can get such a question asked as whether a South African should think of South Africa first or of the Empire first. If I were a South African and I had to ask myself that question, I would say, "What do I mean by 'South Africa first'?" I would mean in the first place, that I wished South Africa to be at peace, secure from danger, and conscious that if danger arose in a just quarrel she would have sure and certain allies by her side. Where could she find that condition except in the British Empire? I would mean that South Africa should prosper in the material sense. How could she prosper better than through the opportunities of co-operation and partnership which exist between the nations of the British Empire to-day? I would mean that she should be free to develop her individual national character in the fullest and richest sense. How could she have better opportunities of doing so than in the varied and wide partnership of the British nations? I would mean that she should be honoured among the nations of the world. Are there any nations so honoured as those of the British Commonwealth? Is there one among them that would not lose in status and dignity in the eyes of the

world if it forfeited that fellowship and fell to the rank of an ordinary common nation?

If, on the other hand, I asked the other question, "What do I mean by 'Empire first'?"—speaking for the moment as a South African—I would say that the strength and progress and greatness of the British Empire lay in the full and free national life of each of its partners, and that my service to the Empire, if I lived in South Africa, could be best given by whole-hearted service to South Africa herself, by devotion to her interests, by sacrifice of time and effort to promote her welfare. There is really no such antithesis as that which the question seems to put. There is no conflict of allegiance between South Africa first or Empire first, because, if I may say so, the true Imperialist must first be a good Englishman if he lives in England, or a good South African if he lives in South Africa, while on the other hand I doubt very much if any Englishman or any South African can be in the truest sense a far-sighted patriot to his own country if he is only a Little Englander or a Little Afrikander.

I should like to say a word or two more on this subject. What is it that we mean by "Empire"? We mean, I think, in the first place, a certain community of advantages which are our common heritage. There is that common citizenship which is implied in the status of British subject. That does not mean that each Dominion has not the right to frame its own political citizenship in accordance with its own particular interests. You have conditions in one part of the Empire or another which may make it undesirable to grant the franchise to one set of people, to one sex, to one class. But behind and beyond all that there remains the fact that a British subject in one part of the Empire is never an alien in any other part of the Empire. He is never an alien when he has to seek the help of a British Consul or of British authorities in any part of the world. He can rise in any other part of the Empire to any position of power or privilege that the laws of that country allow. That is a great inheritance and a noble status. There is

no patent of nobility in the world so far-reaching or so lofty as the status of British subject. In the next place, the British Empire means a wonderful opportunity. We are all concerned here or in some other part of the Empire in the building up of our national life, in creating that material foundation upon which national strength and social welfare alike must be based. For all this there lies in the diversity as well as in the immense volume of the resources of the British Empire an opportunity such as has never been given to any group of peoples before.

I suppose from the material point of view there is no part of the world that has made such wonderful strides in the last two generations as the United States. They have more accumulated wealth, more effective industrial power, than almost all the nations of the world put together——more miles of railway, more motor cars, more articles of luxury, more horse-power in steam or electricity or oil. They have achieved that greatness by a concentration, in co-operation among their various States, upon the resources of a great and rich territory. Look at their resources and look at ours! The British Empire is many times greater than the United States: its resources are infinitely larger—I am talking of material resources: its human resources are certainly not less. The enterprise as well as the capital of the United States after all came mainly from Great Britain. That source of power has not dried up yet. It is capable of flowing as strongly, as full of enterprise and vigour, as ever before, and here and in every part of the world are the young nations of the Empire with qualities to match any which the United States ever possessed.

What is there to prevent us, if we can only get together in free co-operation, from building up for each and all of us a fabric of welfare and prosperity far outstripping anything that even the United States have achieved? You may say they are one single block of territory and that we are scattered. I would say in reply something that will

naturally appeal to you, an audience in a great seaport. Communication by sea is far cheaper and more effective than communication by land, and it is far easier from the point of view of trade to develop the British Empire by shipping than it was originally to develop the United States by the building of trans-continental railways. You have there an immense opportunity, and I cannot believe that either the younger nations of the Empire or the old Mother Country can fail in the long run to recognize that opportunity.

Lastly, I think Empire means something more than the practical advantages of a common citizenship and a common defence, or than opportunities for advance in trade. I think it is a living faith, a faith in something that can be done to raise the whole standard of man's life on this planet. We have a faith in those free institutions which we developed originally in Great Britain, but which have since spread throughout the Empire, a faith based not on abstract phrases but on confidence in the practical working of our experience. We believe that there we have something that is not confined to the British people alone. Indeed an essential part of that faith which makes up the British Empire is that it is free from racial exclusiveness. It is of the very essence of our Imperial and of our national life that we should welcome into it people of other races and other traditions than our own. French Canada, Dutch South Africa, have each played and can each play a great part in the building up, not only of the national life of a great Dominion, but also in the Imperial life of the Empire. We can be proud of our own great traditions as Englishmen. We can also sympathize with and understand and approve of those traditions whose roots are different from our own, whether it be the traditions of a Montcalm and of old French Canada, the traditions of the voortrekkers in South Africa, or the traditions of ancient civilizations and creeds such as are here represented by the presence of the High Commissioner for India. In all these matters our faith is a faith in principles of

freedom and principles of justice, in a way of doing things, and not in the race or the origin of the men who do them.

More than that, in the British Empire we have something that can both exalt and ennoble national life, and yet get away from that mere selfishness, that mere anarchy of conflict between nations, each for itself, which has formed so large a part of recent history. The ideal of the British Empire is one which, instead of conflicting with national patriotism—which is what so often attends the efforts of well-meaning internationalists—tends rather to enlist national patriotism on the side of something wider and more comprehensive. In that respect the British Empire is a true League of Nations—a League of Nations not put together hurriedly by anxious statesmen at the close of a great war, but a League of Nations which has grown slowly through history, and has its own deep-rooted traditions and compelling instincts, a League of Nations which, except for mere numbers, is as comprehensive as a League of all mankind might be. It includes people in every stage of development, of every race, colour and creed. It endeavours to do the fair thing to each, to give the fullest freedom of self-government to those who have reached the stage where they can effectively carry it on, to help others as opportunity offers, as their progress demands, towards the same goal.

There it does seem to me is something to which men of every class and of every race within the Empire can give their adhesion, and for which those who have the faith of the Empire already in them can, as missionaries, work to enlist the support of all those who may, for one reason or another, have taken up a different point of view. For us who believe in that faith the right thing is not to be angry with those who differ from us but rather to win them over. And in that work, in preaching our ideal of Empire, in bringing nearer to realization that ideal which we preach and of which we dream, we can each of us do our part, whether we are concerned in our own every day businesses,

whether we are taking part in the public life of a municipality, of a province or of a nation, and we can always feel that whatever we do has got behind it the background of something greater to which we are still contributing.

VI. GOVERNMENT DINNER, PRETORIA.

SEPTEMBER 7TH, 1927

Your Excellency, Mr. Prime Minister, and Gentlemen,—You have welcomed me, General Hertzog, as a friend, as a good South African, . . . and as a fellow Paramount Chief. It is in the latter capacity you have promised to keep a very watchful eye on my doings. I am doing the same thing. I should like, in all sincerity, to thank you for the welcome you have given me here to-night. It is only typical of the welcome I have received from everybody in South Africa, from every section, since I have been here. While I thank you for that, I should also like to take the opportunity of thanking you and your Government, not only for the generous hospitality with which you have treated our party as guests of the Union while they have been here, but even more for the forethought and consideration which has, in every direction, smoothed our path and made it possible, without discomfort, to cover the immense amount of ground we have traversed in the last few weeks.

Revisiting South Africa has to me been an immensely interesting, a deeply stirring experience. I had looked forward to it with all the eagerness and with all the apprehension with which a man looks forward to meeting again the romance of his youth. Was she really so lovely as he thought, or was it merely youthful illusion? Or worse still, even if once fair might not time have withered or vulgarized her charms? Well, I came, I saw, I surrendered once more. The natural beauty of South Africa, her luminous clear atmosphere, her wealth of colour, her heart-satisfying spaciousness, the stern severity of her

mountain sides, all were still there unchanged. But with them there was a new and added sweetness, long stretches of soft brown plough land, the gay pink of innumerable orchards in blossom, green plantations and prosperous farmhouses, where I remembered only the bare veld. All these things told me that the shy and strange maiden has entered into the full loveliness of womanhood.

What has impressed me most, coming back after many years, is the immense progress South Africa has made in every direction. It is a striking progress as I have seen it in your cities, and even in your smallest dorps, but I am not sure that it is not even more striking when I contrast the ordinary countryside with what it used to be. I am glad to think myself that one whom the fierce currents of history once brought into bitter antagonism with many in this room, General Hertzog, but whom I think to-day all South Africans would unite in honouring as a great pioneer in scientific and progressive agriculture for South Africa—I mean my late chief, Lord Milner—was able, before he died, to see with his own eyes the fruit of his courage and foresight in the land to which he gave himself so freely. But if I have been impressed with the remarkable evidence of progress in every direction during the last twenty-five years, I have been even more struck with the feeling that South Africa is really only at the beginning of her economic development, and that her flowering period is still to come—is, indeed, very near.

Now, gentlemen, if that is true of South Africa in the material sense, I believe it is true of her in the political sense as well. Long years of conflict and struggle and disunion came to an end with the Act of Union—a true and noble deed of partnership between the peoples of South Africa. The Great War set its seal upon that Act, as I remember you, General Hertzog, finely said in the speech you delivered at Delville Wood just a year ago. Since then the Imperial Conference, to which you have referred, marked South Africa's coming-of-age as one of the equal partner nations of the British Commonwealth. You and I,

as you have reminded us, were privileged to work together at that Conference; privileged to do good work which will endure. I think you will agree with me that the most remarkable thing about that Conference was not so much our conclusions in themselves, as the unanimity with which we arrived at them. We came from every end of the earth, representatives of different interests, of different political parties, of different traditions in the past. But there were no parties dividing us, and the conclusions which we reached represented, not the triumph of an aggressive majority over a reluctant minority, but what is always best when great issues are at stake, the unanimous conclusions of all of us who had worked together.

We arrived at those conclusions because we were all agreed in our desire to find, free from all misunderstanding, a sound basis for fruitful co-operation. We found it all the more easily because, after all, our conclusions in the last resort only represent the inevitable outcome of those principles of political freedom which perhaps represent Britain's greatest contribution to the world. The conclusions themselves were simple enough. They were: that the partner nations of the British Commonwealth, indissolubly united under a Common Crown, are equal in status with each other in every respect. None of them is subordinate to any other or subordinate to any executive authority outside itself. There is no function or power of national life which each of us is not entitled to exercise if we think it desirable, and none in regard to which there is any one of us who can claim a prerogative, an exclusive privilege, a right of control, which is denied to the others.

I venture to say that it is no common or ordinary status to which the Dominions have risen, just as Great Britain herself is no common or ordinary nation. They enjoy every liberty, every power, enjoyed by the ordinary run of independent States. But they enjoy much more. Within the circle of the Commonwealth they can count on the co-operation, the support, the sure alliance in time of trouble, of their partner States as well as the many privileges

of an almost world-wide citizenship for every one of their citizens. We can count upon each other, we can make use of each other. The Dominions can make use, if they wish, of the widespread machinery of the British diplomatic service. They enjoy the security provided by the British Navy. Great Britain on her side can count on a favoured position in the markets of the Dominions, and can count upon the fact that her citizens receive an open welcome in their countries. These things are in no sense a derogation from the status of any of us. They represent a valuable enhancement of that status.

Take the position of any of us as against the outside world. Independence is a thing which in practice has many limitations. It was my fortune to come into close contact with the long negotiations of the Peace Conference after the Great War. At that Conference there were represented a large number of independent nations. The representatives of these so-called independent nations hung about for months, waiting anxiously, without knowledge, while their fate was being settled for them by the three or four Powers that alone counted in these great affairs. They waited in ignorance and uncertainty. The British nations, while they enjoyed the same nominal status as the other independent nations, also enjoyed the real status of being themselves one of the Big Three. No issue affecting that peace settlement was concluded on which the British Dominions were not consulted from day to day or in which their wishes were not regarded. They were represented on all the more important Commissions. In theory they had the status of ordinary independent nations, but in practice they enjoyed a far higher status and power—the power that belongs only to the two or three great units which play the dominating part in controlling the destinies of the world. I have seen the same thing at Geneva, when all the gathered nations of the Assembly were sitting waiting for the curtain to be drawn and the play to begin, waiting day after day, vaguely aware that a certain amount of scuffling was going on behind the scenes. During all

those delays, while they waited in ignorance, the British Dominions, the members of the British delegation, were fully informed, were, in fact, among the scene-shifters who were arranging the play behind.

I venture to say, Mr. Chairman, that there is no nation outside our Commonwealth, whose status, whose dignity, whose power and influence, whose security would not be immensely enhanced if it were admitted to our partnership. Equally, that there is no nation within our Commonwealth, not even Great Britain, but would lose in every sense if it severed itself from that partnership. I say not even Great Britain, for in her case at any rate, some sort of plausible argument might be adduced to the effect that she could shelve many responsibilities and save much trouble if she divorced herself from the partner members of the Commonwealth, and if she fell back upon her own large population, upon her old position in Europe and upon her Empire in its narrower sense. I say that might be a just plausible case. But it would be a bad case; and I am certain that —whatever the immediate gain might be—in ultimate security, in ultimate prosperity, above all in standing in the eyes of the world, in moral authority she would suffer disastrous loss. What applies to Great Britain applies to us all. Our Imperial position is something that belongs to each of us: it is not something imposed upon us from without. Is there any one of us who would wish to sacrifice that position and to strip our own nationhood of those Imperial attributes and qualities that go with greater power and wider responsibility?

I know that it will take time for the new conception of our relations within the British Empire to be fully understood. The British Empire is often spoken of as if it were in some sense an appanage of Great Britain, as if Great Britain were the only centre of the Empire, the sun, as it were, round which the lesser planets revolve, and as if the only Imperial relationships of a Dominion were its relationships to Great Britain. That, I think, is an out-of-date point of view. For us who live in England, it is a natural

thing to regard England as the centre of the Empire, and to look upon it from the point of view of our relationship with each part, to think of it as ours—ours in the sense that men speak of "our family." But for those who live in South Africa the natural point of view is to regard South Africa as the centre, and the Empire as South Africa's Empire; it is her Empire as much as it is Britain's Empire. It expresses her wider self, the circle of friendly and helpful co-operation that surrounds her, the responsibilities which, freely exercised, will strengthen and enlarge her national life.

It is in that sense that I ventured to say the other day that the Empire, like the Kingdom of Heaven, is something within us. "Empire" is not something which we submit to, that owns us: it is something that we own, something which for each of us means an enlargement, an exaltation of our own national life. Imperial unity is a unity inherent in our own constitutions and not imposed by a federal constitution from without—inherent in that common and indivisible Crown which is an integral part of each of our constitutions. You may say that that is merely a legal way of expressing the matter. It is so, but it has an underlying moral significance and force. The unity of the Crown means that all subjects of the Crown, owing loyalty to the Crown owe loyalty and mutual support and mutual helpfulness to each other. Ministers of the Crown are, as such, colleagues and in duty bound try to understand each other, to help each other, to co-operate with each other. Further, the unity of the Crown symbolizes all that body of traditions, political principles and ideals that makes us all—even if we belong to different races and speak different languages—yet speak one political language, and hold one political faith, the faith of freedom.

Now you may ask what are the obligations which that Unity of Empire imposes. From without it imposes no obligation. To use a term of law, familiar to you in South Africa, the Empire carries with it no servitudes. Its obligations are the free obligations imposed upon each

people by its own consciousness of the common interests of the Commonwealth, by its own belief that it will serve itself and serve mankind best by co-operating with those who are within the same circle, within the same brotherhood, and who in spirit and tradition are more closely akin to it than any other people in the world. It is an obligation, therefore, fixed entirely by our own sense of what it is right and proper for us to do. It is an obligation to stand by each other in peace and war, to help each other as we think we can best give help, one in one way and one in another. It is an obligation to bear in mind and take into consideration the interests, aye and even the prejudices and sentiments of other parts of the Empire in whatever we do.

There is a saying of St. Paul's, which, to my mind, expresses very truly a great deal of the constitutional position of the Empire. It is this: "All things are lawful, but all things are not convenient." We have each of us an unlimited freedom to act as we think right. In exercising it, we always have the responsibility of considering what is convenient, what is desirable, not only in our own interests but in those of others who are associated with us. We must consider what would hurt, give pain, or create misunderstanding outside. If we can, let us avoid it. That is not in any true sense a limitation of our freedom. Irresponsibility is never true freedom, for men or for nations. The free exercise of responsibility—taking thought for others as well as for ourselves—is the only true freedom and the only true greatness. For South Africa her freedom and her greatness lie in responsibility and co-operation in Imperial affairs, embracing in her case, questions not merely of her relations with Great Britain but her relations with the adjoining protectorates of which you spoke, with the young community of Rhodesia, with the developing young communities right away through Africa, with the other Dominions, with India.

All these things are part of South Africa's Imperial life and responsibility, and in exercising that responsibility, that consideration, she will not only grow greater as a

nation in the eyes of the Empire and the world outside, but also grow greater in her own self. You cannot separate responsibility, judgment, greatness of mind in foreign and external affairs, from greatness of mind, sanity and tolerance in affairs at home. I remember a distinguished German once saying to me that what he regretted most about the loss of the German Colonies was the effect which he feared it would have upon the internal politics of Germany, tending to throw them back upon a more parochial, a more partisan, a narrower footing. He said, "You English, what has impressed me about you is the reaction of your wider Imperial interests upon your own life at home. Dealing with other races, other religions, other conditions in different parts of the world, you acquire a certain perspective, which again and again has helped you, in your domestic quarrels, to realize the importance of unity, to realize that those who differ from you may perhaps have more to be said for them than you are inclined to think. It gives you balance, steadiness and generosity in your home affairs." I think there is a great measure of truth in that.

As an instance of what I mean by considerations for Imperial sentiment outside and its reaction upon one's own problems, I would select what your Government, General Hertzog, has recently done with regard to the Indian problem—a problem of great difficulty, and I should be the last either to suggest a solution or to imagine that a complete solution is yet in sight. But at any rate you have taken a line which has both helped the sentiment of India, and I think also your own domestic problem. You have taken at any rate a substantial step nearer to the solution, whatever it may be. You have done it by a method which indicates that you realize that your relations with the Empire are relations of sympathy and consideration and are not merely relations between South Africa and Britain, but relations between South Africa and every other part of the Empire.

I give that just as an instance of the idea which I wish

to suggest, and that is this, that co-operation in the Empire, so far from limiting or narrowing our freedom, offers a wonderful field for the growth of true freedom and national greatness. Working for the unity of the Empire may have an effect of no small value in helping to bring about unity nearer home. On the other hand, there is perhaps no greater contribution that any nation in the Empire can make to the unity and greatness of the Empire as a whole than to preserve its own domestic unity and singleness of purpose. It is in this spirit, General Hertzog, thinking of all that South Africa may well stand for in the British Empire, and of all the hopes that her sons have entertained about her future, that I venture to quote—in an even wider application than that in which they were originally written—those lines of Jan Celliers on the accomplishment of Union:

Daar blink 'n ster
van Goede Hoop
in onse Suidekruis.
Die oorlogsfakkel is gedoof.
So sal dan niemand ons ontroof
die blye toekoms ons beloof
in Eendrag's skoon tehuis.[1]

I drink to the prosperity, the happiness, the greatness, and what I believe is inseparably connected with these, the unity within herself of South Africa, an Imperial nation.

[1] There shines a star of Good Hope in our Southern Cross. The torch of war is quenched. So let no one rob us of the happy future pledged to us in Unity's fair home.

VII. CIVIC DINNER, JOHANNESBURG.

SEPTEMBER 8TH, 1927

Mr. Mayor, Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you very sincerely for the generous warmth of your welcome. It is a very different welcome from that which I received on my first visit to Johannesburg. On that occasion practically all the population cleared out hurriedly just before my arrival. I will not say it was on account of my arrival. It is possible that the imminence of the South African War had something to do with it. If my welcome was different, it was also a very different Johannesburg that I visited then—a city with a few buildings of some pretension to permanence but consisting mostly of tin shanties, indicating the fact that its own inhabitants were not yet certain if Johannesburg was going to endure, and around it the ordinary vast openness of the veld. To-day I have passed through miles and miles of beautiful gardens and comfortable homes, through a city of splendid buildings.

You referred, Mr. Mayor, to that great University which is growing up, which shows the faith of Johannesburg in its future. When I was here first I was informed that the end of the Rand would come by 1925 at the latest. Yet I gather you are only at the beginning to-day, and that Johannesburg is confident that, one way or another, it is going to remain the leading centre of the economic life of South Africa; and if so, I venture to say, also the leading centre of its political and national life. As I have suggested more than once recently, you cannot separate the national life of South Africa from its Imperial life.

You have touched, Mr. Mayor, on many of the complex

problems of South Africa, and in your kindness of heart, you have invited me to undertake for a dozen years or so the dictatorship of the country. From South Africa's point of view, that might at least have this advantage, that long before the years were out Briton and Boer would be firmly united in their desire to have my blood. From my own point of view, I am content to bear the ills I know of, as a member of the British Cabinet, rather than to fly to ills I know not of; and therefore I must beg to be excused. Nor will I venture to follow you, Mr. Mayor, into those subjects themselves. I would only say that of the subjects peculiarly South African in their character, you have certainly indicated two of the most important. One is the question of how the white race in South Africa is to maintain and extend its position as the bearer of civilization in this Continent. That opens up a very wide theme—a problem which I cannot help thinking cannot be solved by South Africa alone within her own resources: it can only be solved if she brings to her aid in abundance fresh blood from overseas. The other problem closely connected with it is the problem of South Africa's relationship to the rest of Africa itself, to that process of development which from south to north is rapidly opening up the once dark and hidden continent to the forces of modern civilization. There is a great development in which South Africa is naturally interested, and in which I agree with you, Mr. Mayor, she ought to take a leading part.

There is, however, one subject on which you touched which, to use your own words, is political though it has nothing to do with party politics—I mean the subject of our Imperial relations. You referred to last year's Imperial Conference. There can be no doubt that that Conference was a very memorable landmark in the evolution of the British Empire. It is no doubt true in one sense, as you reminded us, that there was nothing in the conclusions of that Conference which was essentially new, nothing indeed which was not inevitably consequential upon the very first grant of self-government to any colony

more than eighty years ago. But right conclusions, when they are taken, may often seem inevitable. When lack of statesmanship causes wrong conclusions to be taken, the world is also often inclined to treat that result as equally inevitable. I do not think the conclusions which we reached at the Imperial Conference would have been reached but for the statesmanship of the men representing the Dominions, as well as the Mother Country, who met together last year, resolved to find agreement, resolved to clear up misunderstanding, resolved to provide a firm and sound basis of freedom for our co-operation in future.

As you have said, Mr. Mayor, even if the conclusions of that Conference were not in one sense new, yet the Conference itself was memorable because it registered, it defined, it laid down, by the consentient agreement of all, the stage which we had reached. That is characteristic of many great documents in our history. Magna Charta, the Declaration of Rights, never professed to lay down new doctrines. They professed to lay down what was the accepted doctrine, and yet in doing so they changed the whole face of things. And I believe, in that sense too, the conclusions which were reached, because of the agreement underlying them, because of their simplicity and clearness, will have a great effect upon the whole development of the British Commonwealth in future years.

What were those conclusions? The first was in the nature of a declaration of freedom—of freedom and equality. We laid down in unmistakable language, that as between the self-governing partner nations of the Empire there was absolute equality in freedom. Each of us is free to exercise every function, every power, every privilege of national life. None of us owes any subordination to any authority outside itself, whether that of a single senior nation such as you might perhaps say Great Britain is, or of a federal constitution outside ourselves. We work together; we work in freedom. The question that we have to ask ourselves is: What is the use which we propose to make of that freedom? Are we to use it to go each our own

separate way, each disregarding the safety, the welfare, the interests, the sentiments of the others, shut ourselves up in our water-tight compartments, and think that in doing so we have won true independence? Is Great Britain to treat this Conference as an excuse for losing an interest in the welfare of the Dominions overseas? Are the Dominions to make the Conference an excuse for ceasing to take an interest in the affairs of an Empire which is their own? To those questions the conclusions of the Conference provide their own answer. The same governing sentence of those conclusions, which lays down the equal freedom of all the partner nations, lays down in equally unmistakable terms—terms equally unanimously accepted by all who were present at that Conference—the fact that all these nations live united under a common Crown.

I would ask you to consider what that means. It means that if the British Empire from one point of view consists of nations, of parliaments, of governments, each working in their own sphere, in entire freedom, owing no subordination any one of them to any other, from another point of view, the Empire is one single body corporate of the subjects of the King, united in loyalty to a common Crown. The essential feature of the whole constitutional situation from this point of view is that the Crown, one and indivisible, is the same in every part of the Empire, an integral part of the constitution of every one of our nations. The Union between us is not a mere personal or accidental union. You know well that there was a time when England and Hanover had the same King. It was a personal union; the same sovereign was King of two separate states, wearing different crowns under different conditions. The subjects of the King of Hanover were not British subjects. They owed no loyalty to the people of Great Britain, nor did the people of Great Britain owe any loyalty to the people of Hanover. The Union was an accidental and personal one, and when it so happened that Queen Victoria came to the throne of Britain, the laws of Hanover were such that she was precluded from becoming

Queen of Hanover. Now that is not the position in the British Empire. In the British Empire there is only one Crown common to the whole Empire, one Crown which unites all who are its subjects in a common loyalty to itself and in virtue of that loyalty in an obligation of helpfulness, of support, of friendship, of co-operation to each other.

That is the underlying constitutional basis of our whole fabric. The nations of the Empire are, as such, free. But they are composed of citizens who are all subjects of the Crown in the same sense and who, therefore, as I said just now, all owe an obligation of loyalty and helpfulness to each other. Their parliaments are free parliaments responsible only to their own electorates. But they also consist of Members of Parliament who have taken the oath of allegiance to the King and who, in virtue of that oath, are morally bound to consider in their legislation first and foremost the interests of their own country, but also to bear in mind the common and wider interest. Their Ministers are responsible to their Parliaments and to their electorates and to no one else. But as Ministers of the same King they are colleagues bound in loyalty to work together, as we find it so easy to work together when we meet across the table at an Imperial Conference. Right through the whole fabric, it is that unity of the Crown and all that it stands for—common loyalty, common traditions, common political faith, common ideals—which pervades, infuses and vivifies the whole world-wide mass.

If freedom is our birthright, unity is the moral law by which that freedom is directed. The two are inseparably connected, and it was not until that right of freedom was fully and unreservedly recognized at the last Imperial Conference, that you could be sure that the duty of co-operation was equally ungrudgingly recognized throughout the Empire. Until freedom was clear, there might always be suspicion that one element in the Empire, one group of British subjects, were claiming a position of superiority and relegating others to a position of inferiority. The value of the Conference is that we removed those doubts,

cleared away those suspicions, and on the sure basis of equal freedom paved the way to the effective co-operation of the future.

How are we going to build the superstructure of that co-operation? What are the methods which we must adopt? What is the field which that co-operation will cover? As far as methods are concerned, they all come down in the last resort to one thing—mutual understanding, closer personal touch. I have been long enough concerned with the affairs of Empire to know how little can be done by the written word or by the telegram. It is a very true saying of old that "the letter killeth." It is only when people meet face to face that they can qualify words unskilfully or unhappily said, can extract the true meaning from some casual sentence uttered by another. It is only when they meet like that and understand each other as men that you get real co-operation; and that, even more perhaps than the conclusions to which we came, was the value of the last Imperial Conference. We came there from all the ends of the earth, representing very different points of view, many of us convinced that the others were most dangerous fellows, dangerous jingoes, dangerous separatists, as the case might be. But when we met we found we were all very much the same kind of person, with very much the same conception of political freedom, and of the advantages of Imperial unity. And the more we can meet, the more that contact can be established, the more certain can we be that the unity of the Empire will continue. It is with the hope of contributing some small element to that unity, to that sense of personal touch, and with the idea of returning in some small measure the effort and sacrifice made by Dominion Ministers who have come to England, that I have set out on this long journey round the Dominions.

It is not only through politicians and public men, however, that contact has been preserved; it is by the intercourse all the time of men in every walk of life, men and women in every section of society, that the true unity of

the Empire has been maintained. Every one of us, by taking an interest in the affairs of our fellow-citizens in other parts of the Empire, by welcoming them when they come to our own country, by endeavouring to find opportunities to go forth and visit them, can play our part in the great work of Imperial unity which is not a task for politicians alone but for our peoples as a whole.

What of the subject matter of our co-operation? To attempt to deal with the whole of that wide field to-night would be impossible. It covers, for example, the great sphere of foreign policy. There was a time when that was regarded as a private perquisite of Great Britain, as a matter which hardly affected the Dominions. To-day, more particularly since the Great War, we realize that every part of the Empire is intimately interested in the general policy of the world and of the Empire as a whole. As a matter of convenience, Great Britain still carries on, and will long carry on, the major part of the work of the foreign policy of the Empire; but it can only carry it on with the consent, the understanding, the approval of all the partners.

Take again defence, so intimately connected with foreign policy. There again Great Britain has carried, and, no doubt, for many years to come will carry, the major portion of the burden. She cannot carry it always. That responsibility which is the natural corollary of freedom will in due course ensure that each of the Dominions will bear its share in that common task. That is a matter in which each Dominion, each nation, must be the judge of its own responsibilities, of the manner, the means and the extent to which those responsibilities can best be exercised in its own interests, and in the interests of the whole. The one thing that is clear is that the best interest of each is also the best interest of the whole, and that security for each can only be found if the whole is strong.

There is one question, however, which touches the life of all of us even more directly and intimately than foreign policy or defence, and that is trade and development. It touches the old country very closely in these difficult

after-war years. It touches every one of the new countries almost more intimately because there the connection between economic development and the whole growth of national life is far more visible and direct than it is in an old country. There you have a sphere of co-operation more immediately important, perhaps, than any other—a sphere in which the possibilities are infinitely greater, and where, perhaps, we have not done all that we might have done hitherto. We may sometimes boast of the immense development of the British Empire. And yet I am not sure that, if we were quite frank with ourselves and compared the immensity of the heritage we have in common—the immensity of our material resources, the splendid reserve of our human resources – with our actual achievement, we could say that we had done anything like all that we might have done for the benefit of any one of us or for the benefit of the whole.

I sometimes think, when I contemplate the immense wealth and development of the United States, how much more they have achieved by intimate economic co-operation within themselves as compared with us. Their resources are far less than those of the British Empire. British Africa alone has potential resources of wealth as great as those of the whole of the United States. But they have achieved that result because they have concentrated their whole mind on bringing their abilities to bear upon the development of their own great resources. Is it impossible that we should do the same for the vast resources of the British Empire?

You may say that the United States are a single compact territory under a single Government, and with a single tariff. That may be. We, who believe that British freedom can achieve results in the political sphere no less successful than those which the United States have achieved, are surely not going to admit that we cannot achieve results at least as great by free co-operation in the economic sphere. Within our several tariffs, by mutual preference, by mutual adjustment, by mutual helpfulness, we can both

stimulate the development of our own nations, and at the same time use the influence and power of our market to stimulate the welfare of each other, and so in turn to help ourselves.

After all, if South Africa is to grow great, she must find an effective market beyond her own coasts. Where could she find it better than in the British Empire? And if she wants to secure the best market she can, in Great Britain, for instance, there are two things that can help her most. One is that we in Great Britain, whether by our legislation or by our voluntary action, should give to her products the utmost preference we can. The second is that the market of Great Britain itself should be wealthy and strong so as to be able to buy the maximum amount of South Africa's produce. Both these results could be helped by South Africa doing what she can to buy British goods. The whole process is one where each uses the vivifying and strengthening influence of its own markets, to help first the other and then by the reaction to help itself. It is a process in which each is the gainer and in which, by co-operation, the sum total of the wealth produced is infinitely greater than what each could produce working in water-tight compartments on narrow local lines. Personally, I believe there is no limit to the prosperity which the nations of the British Empire can achieve within the next generation or two, if only they have the capacity to look at their own problem from the broad point of view, to conceive of themselves as one great heritage that clamours for development, to conceive of themselves as one great body of fellow-workers resolved to turn that heritage to the best account for the welfare and happiness of all.

There is only one thing I would add, and that is, that our co-operation is not limited to the spheres I have mentioned. The British Empire is a Commonwealth for security; it is a Commonwealth for increase and for welfare, but it is also a Commonwealth for the development of the personality and character of all its peoples. It is of the very essence of our constitutional system that we are not

confined to unity in this or that limited sphere, as would follow from a federal constitution, but that we work together in everything. And not the least fruitful side of Empire co-operation is co-operation in everything that makes for human progress, co-operation in political intercourse and political thought, co-operation in science, in art, in education, and in social work. In all these matters we can no doubt gain much from the outside world, but we can gain even more each from the other, because we are different enough from each other to be able each to supply some new element of value, yet near enough to each other to be able easily to assimilate and gain something from a contact which might be less fruitful in the case of foreign nations.

What I wish to indicate to you, ladies and gentlemen, is that in all these aspects of co-operation—whether it be foreign policy, or defence, or trade, or the other things that I have mentioned—you cannot separate the individual interest from the interest of the whole. The two things are inseparably joined together. The greatest service we can each do to our own part in the Empire is to keep in mind the unity and welfare of the whole. The greatest service we can render to the Empire is to do our own duty in that part of it in which our lot has been cast.

You referred just now, Mr. Mayor, to that question which has sometimes been asked in South Africa, and to which I attempted to give an answer in Durban the other night—as to whether the true duty of a South African is to put South Africa first or Britain first. I hope I may be excused if I venture to give again to you the answer I attempted to give to that question the other night, putting myself for the moment in the position of a South African. If I were a South African, and if I asked myself the question, "Is my motto 'South Africa first'?" I would say, "What do I mean by that?" And I would answer in this way. I would say that if I put South Africa first, I would wish South Africa to be secure, to be able to count in good times and bad times alike upon sure and faithful allies, who would

spend their last drop of blood and their last shilling in my defence. Where else could South Africa find that sure alliance outside that brotherhood of nations in which she lives to-day? I would say again that I would wish South Africa to be prosperous. If there is anything in what I said just now to you about the possibilities of Empire trade and Empire development, I would answer again with confidence that there is nowhere such an opportunity for South Africa's prosperity as in co-operation within the Empire. I would say again that I would wish South Africa to develop to the fullest her own national life, her own characteristics, drawn from the different sources which make up her people—a life truly its own, rich in all that can make for national greatness; and I would say again, where else but in the free intercourse and fellowship of the British nations could she live her life so unrestricted, so unfettered, so free for development, and yet with such resources to draw upon for its enrichment? And again I would say that I would wish to see South Africa honoured among the nations, honoured for what she is and honoured for what she can do to help forward the welfare of the world at large. Are there any nations in the world as honoured as those of the British Commonwealth? Is there any association that can do so much or has done so much for the peace and welfare of mankind as that Commonwealth?

If, on the other hand, I asked myself the other question, and said, "What do I mean by putting Empire first?" I would say then that the very essence of the British Empire is the variety and freedom of its component elements, the life pulsing freely and spontaneously in each part, not a controlled, fettered, organized, directed life. Therefore, I would say that if I put Empire first and lived in South Africa, my first duty would be to serve South Africa with all my heart, to work for her prosperity, to work for her greatness, to see to it that she played a leading and honourable part in the affairs of the Empire and of the world, and to work also for the unity of her people. If I were a Dutch South African in such a case, and thought that the interests of

South Africa and of the Empire were inseparable, I would feel it my duty to do all that I could to understand my fellow-citizens of English birth and descent, to understand their past, to try and appreciate their memories, their sentiments, their attachments, it might even be their prejudices. If I were a South African of English birth, I would feel it equally my duty to the Empire to try and understand, to sympathize and to get into touch with my fellow-citizens of Dutch descent, to learn to understand that if we have different traditions and different memories, they are both of them honourable traditions and honourable memories. It is not for me to say what view I might take of such a question, for instance, as bilingual education or bilingual methods in administration: but what I would say is that if to learn Afrikaans brought me any nearer to my Dutch fellow-countrymen, if it made it any easier to understand their point of view, to get into real sympathy and understanding with them—well, then for the sake of the Empire the trouble would be well worth taking.

That really is what I wished to say to you to-night, to say that so far from there being any conflict between the claims of the Empire and of South Africa to your loyalty, those two claims are inseparable. The Empire is not something outside of South Africa and separate from South Africa; it is only the wider and greater expression of South Africa's national life, as for us in England it is the wider expression of our national life. The two things are inseparable; each strengthens, each helps the other. If I wished to put the Empire first, my duty would be to serve South Africa. If I put South Africa first, my understanding would make it clear to me that it is only in the co-operation and fellowship of that brotherhood of ours that South Africa could find her fullest, greatest self-realization. Twenty-two years ago, a great Imperialist, now gone from us, a man who in the bitter struggles of old days naturally had to take a definite, it might sometimes seem a hard line, but a man who also from his soul loved South Africa and did her great service—I mean Lord Milner—in the

closing words of his farewell speech to the citizens of Johannesburg said the very same thing. He said that the true Imperialist is also the best South African. I do not think that there is anything that I could say that in essence could improve on that idea. And in that idea any differences that may exist between us find their natural and happy solution. You will never settle things by insisting only on the smaller differences; you settle them by finding a greater unity in which those differences naturally find their place and find their true perspective.

VIII. CIVIC DINNER, PORT ELIZABETH.

SEPTEMBER 13TH, 1927

Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen,—I am very glad to have been able to visit Port Elizabeth, which, as you rightly said, Mr. Mayor, is intimately connected with the splendid story of British settlement and British endeavour in South Africa in the past. She has also, in more modern times, her own splendid story of business enterprise, conquering natural difficulties, conquering possibly governmental indifference, winning her way to a great position in the commercial world of South Africa, and making Port Elizabeth one of the chief seaports in the Union, and not the least among the great seaports of the Empire. That justifies you in being entitled to regard yourselves as men who have played their part in the making of South Africa, and to that extent also in the making of the Empire.

You have referred, Mr. Mayor, to what is called the new status. I would call it rather the final recognition of the status inevitably due to British citizens, in whatever part of the world they may live. It was of the very essence of British freedom that it should have no limit set to it. When responsible government was first given, it was given under conditions when those who received it were primarily, and indeed wholly, concerned with their own local affairs; but it was as a matter of convenience, and not as a matter of sovereign right, that Great Britain carried on on behalf of the Dominions many functions of national life which to-day she is willing, freely and equally, to share with them. The consummation of that development was marked by the late Imperial Conference, which registered, for all the world as well as for the Empire to know, the coming-of-age of

the younger nations in the British Empire. It laid down, beyond misunderstanding, that our partnership is a partnership in equal freedom. We work together, but we work each of us unfettered by any control from without. None of us—South Africa no more than Great Britain—is under any servitude to the Empire regarded as a controlling and dominating power from without. Our obligations are obligations from within, obligations which are imposed upon us by our own consciousness of the common interests of Empire, by our own faith in the principles upon which that Empire has been based and upon which it works, faith in its traditions, faith in its future. All those things were summed up by the Imperial Conference in that unity of the Crown which makes us, in spite of all our diversities, one body corporate, one organic whole. In that partnership South Africa's obligations are the same as Great Britain's. She is, in her responsibilities as well as in her privileges, an Imperial nation. Unfettered freedom is her acknowledged birthright, but if she is to be true to that birthright, then unity is the moral law that must guide her action.

Now, you may ask, gentlemen, what is this Commonwealth of which South Africa is a member? Who are her partners? What can they contribute to her security, to her development, to the enrichment of her national life? Let me attempt to give some sort of answer.

I put the question of security first. I would ask you to cast your minds back a dozen years or so to the great struggle that rent Europe in twain. Who took the leading part in that conflict? Who took the decisive part? That conflict was in one sense settled from the day that the British Navy was thrown into the scales against Germany. From that day began the long, slow blockade of Germany, which inevitably, day by day, month by month, year by year, starved her armies, starved her industries, starved her people into the inevitable final submission. The intervention of the Navy also from the same day opened all the seas of the world to the Allies, opened them to the armies of Britain, to conduct the war wherever she willed, opened

them to her partner nations to come and join in the struggle for liberty, opened them to the flow of supplies and munitions of war from all over the world to come to the service of the allies, opened them finally to the armies of the United States who joined in the later stages of that great struggle. That alone was an immense contribution to make to the War. Germany realized what it meant, and because she did, her whole hopes were pinned on settling that struggle within the first few weeks by the overwhelming swiftness and momentum of her advance. Again her expectations were frustrated. A little handful of men—contemptible, indeed, in numbers, but far from contemptible in their military skill—could not altogether check that advance, but they wrecked the whole design. When the whole game depended upon time, they gained time for the Empire. What else Great Britain did in that struggle I need hardly remind you of—the immense output of munitions that equipped her new Armies and equipped her Allies, the finance which sustained during the greater part of the War the whole fabric of Allied co-operation—all these things were done by one little island in the North Sea.

But Great Britain was not the only member of the partnership. From the day that war was declared, her partner nations, unasked, unsummoned, came to her side; and before the War was over they had put into the field mightier armies than it was ever thought credible that either they or the Mother Country could bring into action. A million men or more came from the great Dominions, another million from the Empire of India, and many tens of thousands from the Colonies and various parts of Africa—all coming forward freely to serve the common cause. The combined forces of the British Empire which marched victoriously during the last hundred days over a retreating enemy, marched as the finest army that has ever taken the field in history.

A partnership which under circumstances of exceptional difficulty could put forward such an effort in a crisis is one to which it is surely worth belonging. We may well pray that no such struggle may come again in our time or

in our children's time, but if it should come, then for South Africa or for any one of us that is in danger, we have the assurance of Allies, of brothers-in-arms, such as no other nation in the world possesses. And in times of peace, for our trade, for our development—so intimately connected with our trade across the seas—each of us enjoys the protection of a Navy, of which I, as a former First Lord, can at any rate say this, that though reduced in number of ships since the Great War, reduced to make clear to the world that we stand for peace, it has never been so efficient. It is a Navy that will continue to be supported by all the resources of Great Britain; and I have no doubt, too, Mr. Mayor, in an increasing degree, as the Dominions develop and strengthen their resources, by the free contribution which they, in their own judgment, will make to that as also to every other instrument of Imperial defence.

But security is not our only concern. In these days, we are even more immediately concerned with our economic development, with the progress of our national life, with the building up of population and wealth, and the maintenance of a standard of living which for each and all of us, perhaps, constitutes the greatest part of our political interests and political concerns. In that respect what can we say of the partners whom South Africa can bring in to share the task of development? I suppose the British Empire is the greatest area, capable of development in the highest sense of the word, which yet remains in large measure undeveloped. It includes, in the shape of countries able to form the homes of a great Western European civilization—in Canada, in Australia, in New Zealand, and in South Africa—areas fully two and a half times as large as the United States themselves, and fully capable of bearing at least double, if not more than double, the population of the United States. It comprises in the great Empire of India an immense country of vast resources, peopled by 350,000,000 of people, at present on a relatively low standard of economic life, but capable by their industry and by their ability of raising India to a far higher level

as a partner in the economic development of the Empire than she is to-day. It comprises in the Colonies a vast area —in Africa, East and West, in the isles of the West Indies, in the Pacific and Indian Oceans—a region of immense economic possibility, a region whose annual trade is already to-day over £500,000,000 a year, a trade which has been doubling itself almost every ten years in the last generation.

And last, but certainly not least, you have that tremendous power house of industry and economic power, little Great Britain. We sometimes hear it said that Great Britain made her last great effort in the War, is spent, exhausted, dead; that she has lost her enterprise, lost her will power. Believe me, that is all nonsense. We may criticize our own defects freely; that is a Briton's birthright; and the press carries those criticisms to the end of the world. But make no mistake. England as a nation and as an industrial community is very far from spent. Her industries were in large measure reorganized during the War; and when the present difficulties are overcome, I venture to say they will show a power of expansion and development that will surprise the world. Her people are by no means spending their whole existence in living on doles derived from taxing each other. We have had to meet a difficult economic situation by unusual expedients. But I would remind you that we are to-day supporting by industry and in employment a much larger number of men than before the war; and that when the channels of trade open up again, when the stream of migration flows again as it used to in pre-war years, when, perhaps, we learn to adopt a wiser economic policy than the rather shallow one we have adopted in the past, then I venture to say you will not hear much of doles or of the unwillingness of the British workman to work.

I have said something to you about the economic units which compose the Commonwealth. They are in a sense each of them units that can only find their full development by the help of others. Great Britain is essentially an exporting country. I myself believe that she could do a great deal more than she has done in the past to make

strong and secure her own home market for her industries. But her industrial development is such that she will always need a great external market. The same is true of every one of the Dominions. They may aim—and who can blame them—at building up their own industries and thereby creating a home market for their own primary produce. But their natural resources are such that their home market can never be sufficient for their primary production. If their opportunities are ever to be made full use of, they all need—South Africa not least of all, if her agriculture is to be developed, if the greatest of her aims is to convert her soil from being that of a scattered people to that of a land covered with close settled homes—they all need an export market. And just as the best, the most stable, the most reliable export market we in Great Britain have is that of the British Empire, so for the great Dominions the surest market they have is that of the Mother Country.

In these matters I venture to think there is still room for carrying the principle of free co-operation a great deal further than we have done. No one questions the right of each partner in the British Empire, not even of Great Britain, to have its own fiscal policy, to look after the interests of its own people first. But a wise consideration of these matters makes it clear that working in water-tight compartments, working from a purely local point of view, can only lead to very limited results. Working from a broad point of view, working within a circle so vast that all the outflow of our economic energies can find room in it and come back to us with redoubled force, not wasted and spent as they often are when we trade with those who are reluctant to trade with us in return—if we can only realize that conception, we ought to be able to create for each of our countries, as well as for the whole, a wealth and prosperity, a foundation of security, as well as a foundation of social reconstruction, infinitely sounder, infinitely broader based, than anything we know of to-day.

Ours is a partnership for security and for development, in which South Africa has partners to help, the like of which

cannot be found elsewhere in the world. Where else could she find greater freedom to develop her own national life, in its own way, and yet with greater sources of enrichment to that life from different yet kindred elements throughout the Empire? Where could she find a wider cause outside herself to which to dedicate her life? After all, we are learning in the world—the War taught us something of that—that the selfishness of the individual nation is not the last word in politics; that there is something outside the mere dedication of oneself to one particular unit in the world and to keeping towards the rest of the world an attitude of isolation, of suspicion, aye and of hostility. It is that realization which has led to the creation of such an organism as the League of Nations—not an easy organism to create—working in many ways contrary to the natural instincts, to the natural patriotism of the different nations composing it. It has already done a certain amount of useful work, but those who have had to deal with it know best that you cannot place too heavy a burden on its back.

Those of us who are members of the British Commonwealth have our own League of Nations, not framed by a few anxious statesmen in a few weeks at the close of a great struggle, but grown in long years, grown solidly and strongly in the course of history, a League whose attachments are not merely external but are an essential part of the national life of each of us, to which as the Great War showed, each of its members respond instantly. The League of Nations aims at preventing war among its members; within the British League war is assumed to be unthinkable from the very start. The League of Nations binds all its members, in certain eventualities, to join in a conflict against a transgressor; with us the unity of a common Crown presupposes that when the King is at war all his subjects must regard the King's enemies as their enemies. What they then do is, of course, a matter for them and for their own Governments to decide. I think we are prepared to believe that a Commonwealth like ours, with its tradition and with its love of peace, is not likely to be involved in any struggle

unless it be a just one, and certainly not involved, as the Empire stands to-day, unless every one of the partner nations is convinced of the justice of that struggle.

Such is our League—a League for defence, a League for perpetual peace, a League for development, a League to promote our mutual welfare in every possible aspect of our national life. That surely is a partnership well worth belonging to. That surely is a Commonwealth well worth strengthening and defending.

The only question I would ask before I finish is: What can we do to maintain the unity and strength of that Commonwealth? The first thing we can do is to do our own work and do it well and straightforwardly, wherever we are called upon to do it, to do public service to our own city, to our own province, to our own nation, and so to the Empire. An Empire that lives by the vitality, the independence and the full development of each of its partners is best served if those who live in any part of it give themselves whole-heartedly to that part; if those who live in South Africa render whole-hearted service to South Africa as their country and give themselves to its prosperity, to its greatness, and I need not add, Mr. Chairman, to its unity. It is also served by keeping the idea of Empire ever before us, by resisting anything that would weaken the bonds that bind the Empire together, by preaching the faith as we hold it to those who may not see things from as wide an angle as we do, not in impatience, not in resentment, but with a profound faith that what we believe to be true is a belief that others can share with us, and share as whole-heartedly as we can. After all, the principles that we hold dear are not principles necessarily attached to any one race, or to any one speech, or even in the last resort to any one colour. They are principles of world-wide application and of universal truth. If so, and if we believe in them strongly enough, we are bound to believe also that we can make them conquer. The conception of the British Empire is in the nature of a faith—a faith that if we will we can make prevail.

IX. STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY, STELLENBOSCH.

SEPTEMBER 22ND, 1927

Ek dank u hartelik vir uwe vriendlike welkomst. Gister avond het ek een groote skrik gekry. Ek spreek tot een Engelse vriend van my, en seg ek ga na Stellenbosch. "Na Stellenbosch," antwoord hy, "Ja dat is een mooi plekkie; ga gy om blommetjes te ploek?" Ek seg: "Nee, ek ga di Universiteit toesprek." "Allemachtig," seg hy, "Gy is een dapper kerel. Wee gy nie die jonge leeuws van Stellenbosch is vir een Engelsman baai kwaai, en di jonge wyfie leeuws is nog maar gefaarlik? Kan gy Afrikaans praat?" "Nee," antwoord ek, "die bietje wat ek tamelik dertig jare gelede geken het het ek alriets vergeet, en verder hulle seg di nieuwe Afrikaans is van de oude Afrikaans nou so verannert als een moterkar van di liefde oude ossewa van uw Professor Jan Celliers syn gedigt. Maar is nie elke persoon in Suid Afrika nou nie dubbeltalig machtig nie?" Hy antwoord my, "Ja, maar in Stellenbosch is hulle so dubbel dubbeltalig dat hulle net een taal verstaan, en dat is nie Engels nie."

Gy kan denk wat ek een skrik gekry het! Maar ek vroeg hom toe in die woorde van myn oude vriend Jan Hofmeyr—onze Jan—"Is het u ernst?" "Nee," antwoord hy, "nie geheel ernst nie. Sulle is waarlik regte aangenaame goeie mense om met oever di weg te kom. Begin maar met een paar woorde in Afrikaans, en dan kan gy Engels praat so veel als gy wil. Maar wat ga gy praat omtrent?" Ek seg "sal ek omtrent de Britse ryk praat?" Toe antwoord myn vriend: "daarvan will hulle nie in Stellenbosch hoor nie." "Nou goed," seg ek, "ek sal maar spreek oever Suid Afrika syn eige toekomsryk." En als ek dat doen dan

hoop ek julle sal my nou toelaat om van my eige moedertaal gebruik te maak.

I know you are here in order to prepare yourselves for your own careers in life. I think you are also here for another purpose, to prepare yourselves to become worthy citizens of South Africa, to take your part in her life, to do what you can, whether you take up public affairs or whether you live your own private lives, to help to make her more prosperous, happier and more honoured among the nations of the world. To do that, it is essential that you should understand what South Africa is and the environment in which she lives, and, still more important, what she is going to become and what her surroundings are going to be in future years. You will go out with this immense advantage over older men that you will be better able to take what George Meredith called the "forward view." We older men are far too apt to judge everything not as it is, still less as it is going to be, but by what it was ten, twenty or even thirty years ago. The best contribution you can make to the life of your country is to enter upon its work with that forward view, to try to understand what the world is going to be in which you and your countrymen are going to live during the years ahead of you.

I think that is peculiarly important in the case of South Africa, which has undergone so many changes in recent years and is going to undergo even greater changes in the years to come. We have only to cast our minds back for a little while to realize how immense the change has been in the life of South Africa in the last half century. I hope I do not call myself an old man, but yet when I look back on my schooldays and think of what South Africa was as compared with what it is to-day, how great has been the change! West of Kimberley to all intents and purposes South Africa ended at the Orange River. Beyond was all described vaguely as the "interior," a more or less unknown country through which a few missionaries and traders penetrated. East of Kimberley there were small isolated farmer republics and beyond them again, the

unknown savage wilderness. There was no German South-West Africa; there were no British Colonies in East and West Africa, and no Congo Free State. The whole of Africa was an unknown Dark Continent, the coasts of which here and there were held by European settlers. Of trade and development there was very little. Then came the great change brought about by the discovery of the mines, and as a consequence the development of modern means of transportation which inevitably produced a shrinkage of South Africa. They made it in effect a smaller country, and forced the problem of its unity upon its peoples. This is not the occasion where you would wish me to go into the rights and wrongs of old controversies. From the point of view of history, they will be judged, not by that standard but by the contribution that they have made to the essential unity of South Africa, just as we in England to-day look back with indifference as to whether Egbert the Saxon was right or wrong in the measures which he took to put an end to heptarchy in England. After all, it was the former republics which, after the South African War, were foremost in wishing to unite with the older British colonies and in bringing about the present Union. It was the great geographical and transport factors which made it necessary for South Africa to become one country and one nation.

These changes will take place in an ever-increasing measure in the years immediately ahead of us. You have already to-day a prosperous thriving community immediately to the north of the Union in Southern Rhodesia: great mineral developments and agricultural developments are taking place in Northern Rhodesia beyond that. Beyond that again, in Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda, right away to the Sudan, to Egypt, you have continuous territory forming part of the British Empire and becoming of increasing interest and importance to South Africa. It is not only railway development that will bring these regions nearer. Other modern methods of transport are going to make the world shrink even more than railways have made

it shrink. One day last week I went on a journey from Pretoria to the North-eastern Transvaal. I visited Nylstroom; I inspected the Zebediela Citrus Estate, went down the Oliphants River, along the edge of the Drakensberg; then past the Premier Mine back to Pretoria—a twenty or twenty-five days' journey in an ox-wagon. I did it in an aeroplane in the morning in about three hours. That shows how space is shrinking. That shrinkage is going to affect the whole interests of South Africa. The same reasons which led to the union of the States which now compose it may in your lifetime make it essentially important to South Africa for the Union to be joined in some way or another more closely, and to exercise its influence over territories far to the north of it which, when I was young, never existed except as blank spaces on the map.

The same changes are taking place in the economic sphere. Fifty years ago South Africa was a very poor country compared with what it is to-day. But it was a self-dependent country which exported very little and required very little. It could at a pinch live, on the plane on which it was living, if cut off from the rest of the world. To-day South Africa has become absolutely dependent upon outside markets. Her agricultural industry depends largely on the outside market, and can only expand and develop, as it would seem to be developing now, if it can secure its export. But, more than that; practically every farmer in South Africa who is not exporting himself sends his produce to Johannesburg, Durban or Cape Town, to the great centres which live upon the export of gold and precious metals. So in one way or another South Africa to-day is vitally interested in oversea trade and communications and dependent for her existence upon the security of those communications. That fact is to some extent veiled from the ordinary citizen by the existence of the British Empire, which prevents possibilities of conflict which might otherwise easily occur. If it were not for the British Empire it would be in the power of any foreign State, Asiatic as well as European, which had any vessels

of war more powerful than the *Protea*, to hold up the whole economic life of South Africa if its citizens were insulted, or if they did not get the rights in South Africa which they thought they should get.

What I want, however, to remind you of is that this immense change in the character of your national life is not confined to South Africa. It is part of a world phenomenon. Look at Europe. Europe was once a great continent with room for many nations which, in area and population, adjudged themselves as great nations. To-day we are beginning to realize that Europe is very small; you can telephone from one end of it to the other, you can fly in a few hours from one end to another. All its little States are finding themselves afraid, hampered by the pressure of their neighbours. They cannot develop their trade freely because of the customs barriers of their neighbours. They cannot devote themselves to the tasks of peace because they are always afraid that one or other of their neighbours, for national reasons, may covet some of their territory. Since the Great War you have Europe more split up than ever in a manner which, from the practical and material point of view, is contrary to all reason. You have the underlying economic forces, which tend to bring Europe together into some sort of closer grouping than exists at present. Against that you have the powerful forces of Nationalism, which have divided Europe more than ever since the Great War.

It would be very interesting if I had time to go into the history of Nationalism in Europe, to show how the idea that nationality, race and language should form the basis of a state, came to supersede older ideas, to supersede the idea of dynastic right, and supersede it so quickly that when Europe was put in order after 1815 on the basis of legitimate dynastic right, the foundations were no sooner set up than they proved to be rotten. The dynastic point of view gave way to the newer view that nationality was the basis of statehood. Nationalism has been a great force in the Europe of the past. To it Europe

has owed much of its vitality and energy in the last few generations. At the head of the movement have stood great names like Mazzini and Garibaldi, Cavour and Bismarck on a different plane, the warriors and statesmen who fought for the liberation of Greece and Serbia, of Bulgaria or Roumania, and more recently of Czecho-Slovakia and Poland. It has been a movement containing much that was inspiring and that was good for the world. But, like all great movements, it has its element of weakness. In the early days, when European nationalism was struggling against the established military despotisms, it seemed easy to identify nationalism with peace. There is no natural and necessary connection between the two. Nationalism can bring the sword as well as peace; nationalism can submit itself as readily to the military monarchy of the Hohenzollern or the rule of a Mussolini as it can to democratic government. Its weakness has always been that it has been too self-contained as against the outer world, too aggressive and selfish, recognizing no obligations without itself or even to other elements within its own community.

The dominant factor that brought about the Great War was the German belief that armed force was a right thing regardless of the injury caused, as long as it served the objects of German nationalism. Again, you had in Hungary the Magyars, who believed that anything they could do to mould by force the lesser nationalities in Hungary into the Magyar mould, to impress the Magyar language upon them, and make them speak and think in Magyar only and forget their own cultures, was justified in the interests of their nationalism. That again was one of the prime causes of the trouble in Southern Europe. Not that I wish to suggest that all the fault was on the side of the Central Empires. The main part in provoking the War was theirs, but no doubt history in time to come will also assign their share to the national ambition of Italy to embrace every person speaking Italian within her frontiers, the ambitions of Serbia, the ambitions of Roumania and other countries which had racial elements outside their own States.

Now you have had your remodelling on nationalist lines, and the result has been to create a profound disillusionment. For one thing, no such remodelling could ever be satisfactory to all concerned. The victorious nations naturally pushed to the furthest their claims on the ground of race and language. Then they rounded the frontiers off to get a decent line of defence, or to include a necessary railway, and in doing so, divided and mixed as the races of Europe are, they inevitably included in their own nationality large elements of other nationalities. To-day people are wondering whether, if nationalism is to be the only basis in Europe, the last peace was not simply the beginning of a series of new wars to come. Coupled with this fear hanging over Europe, there is also the growth of a moral doubt as to whether nationalism in itself, though it calls for much that is highest in the individual to serve his community, is really sufficient. Men are asking themselves whether you can limit all unselfishness or altruism to the service of the individual State, and let the State itself be based on principles of pure selfishness—whether there could not be wider combinations in which a narrower patriotism might be merged in a wider understanding and wider co-operation. It was those doubts that underlay the creation of the League of Nations.

At one time or another I have had something to do with the practical working of the League of Nations, as one of the British representatives upon it. I think that organization has done a good deal of useful work. I think it can still do much useful work in the world. But I doubt if it can really altogether satisfy that particular need, the need of so many States in the world to-day, the need for a wider patriotism, a broader comprehension. We are sometimes told that the League of Nations fails because it is not comprehensive enough, because the United States or some other States have remained outside it. I do not think that that is altogether so. I would rather say that the League of Nations has in a measure failed because it is too comprehensive, because it tries to include nations living

in every part of the world with very different sets of interests, and with not enough common sympathy or common ground for working together. Take the great group of South American nations, akin to each other in speech and in tradition, living in a separate continent where, thanks to the Monroe doctrine, they are not afraid of any intervention by European states in their affairs: they are really at the League of Nations an extraneous body with very little common interest with the rest.

Take again the nations of Europe, with their racial problems, their political problems, their economic problems, all intimately interlocked; they have a great deal in common amongst themselves which is not common either to the American or Asiatic nations or to the nations of the British Commonwealth, and more than one scheme has failed to mature at Geneva, in my opinion at any rate, largely because it was not realized that while the scheme might have been a good one for Europe, it was not a good one for the League of Nations as a whole. It is the consciousness of that which has created in recent years the movement known as the Pan-Europa movement—a movement towards closer co-operation and permanent peace among the European nations themselves; for common development instead of endless friction. That movement, confined to a few theorists and writers three or four years ago, has already caught the imagination of a great many people in more than one of the leading European countries. I want to draw your attention to it because within the next twenty or thirty years, when you are taking your full place in the national life of South Africa, that movement may possibly come to fruition and have a great influence upon the fortunes of the world, and consequently also on those of South Africa.

In that respect, however, South Africa already stands in a very different position. The kind of wider union that is being sought after in Europe, which the South American States are aiming at through the Pan-American Union, is already in existence for those nations which are a part of the British Commonwealth. The connection is

not so much geographical, though in a sense the sea, which is the defensive and economic medium in and by which every one of the British nations lives, has been a great factor in its building up. But in the main the unity is not so much geographical as historical, based on the mere fact that we have been united, that we have worked together, sometimes fought together, that we have also, gradually, developed the same political language, the same set of constitutional ideas, and have a vast field of interests in common. It is therefore South Africa's fortune to be already free from many of those irksome limitations which, in practice, enormously restrict and fetter the so-called independence of most of the independent nations of the world, to be within one of those wider groups and fellowships towards which other nations are beginning to strive.

From the practical point of view, at any rate, the partnership to which South Africa belongs is a very effective one. Take the point of security. Is there any other partnership in the world in which South Africa, depending on her sea trade, could enjoy such absolute security as in the partnership of the British Empire? When the Great War started not one of the Dominions scattered all over the world had a moment's fear for its own safety, or ever expected that any German force could be landed on its shores. Again, from the point of view not only of security, but of dealing with an aggressor, the moment the Great War occurred and public opinion throughout the British Commonwealth felt that England was engaged in a just cause and that her defeat would not only be a disaster to political freedom, but a disaster to the members of the British Commonwealth—without hesitation, without any request, of their own free-will, they came to take part in the common task. Over a million white soldiers from the great Dominions came to fight in the Great War, over a million soldiers from the great Empire of India, and many tens of thousands from the smaller Colonies and territories.

A brotherhood that could bring such support to any one of its members in the hour of danger is well worth having.

But the partnership is no less worth enjoying for the sake of what it can offer in peace. It can offer from the point of view of economic development to each of its nations far more than any other partnership in the world, above all, to those younger nations which are bound, in their development, to look to an enormous extent to the markets overseas. There are many other ways in which that partnership is of value from points of view more important, perhaps, than either defence or economic development—from the point of view of the development of political thought, of thought on all social problems, such as child welfare, the problem of the uplifting of the fallen and the poorer sections of the population, the problems of science and research. In all these matters there is throughout the British Commonwealth a continual going to and fro of individuals creating bonds of union far closer than those existing between the more isolated and scattered nations of the world outside, —an isolation and self-centering which those nations are beginning to feel as a grievous loss to themselves.

You may ask one question, and that is this: given all the practical advantages of this partnership, what are its terms? Are they compatible with our own national spirit, with our sense of freedom, with our sense of the dignity and status of our own people? It is no use having all the wealth in the world if you have to sell your soul for it. I think the simplest answer to that question is given in the Resolutions of the last Imperial Conference. In a sense those Resolutions marked nothing altogether new. They were implicit in the very character of British freedom and British self-government. But they were important because, for the first time, they laid down not only for the Empire, but for the whole world to understand, that the younger nations of the British Empire had come to their majority, were recognized by Great Britain as her equals in every respect and in the right to claim every freedom, every power, and every function of national life, which she claimed for herself. That principle of an absolutely equal freedom is the one great corner-stone of those impor-

tant Resolutions. The other is the inherent unity which binds us together under a common Crown. The significant fact about that union is that it is not a unity imposed from without; there is no external authority which controls the life of any one of the free nations of the British Commonwealth or limits their powers under a federal Constitution. The unity of our common Crown is an inherent part of the Constitution of each one of the nations of the British Empire. It means therefore that unity is not an external obligation, not a servitude—if I may use a term of Roman-Dutch law—imposed from without, but an inner moral obligation on each of the partner nations to realize the practical advantages, to understand the spiritual advantages, of working together in brotherhood and in fellowship.

The Empire, like the Kingdom of Heaven, is something within each of its nations and not something without. It is something which adds to the freedom from restraint of each of its members; which adds also to the sense of responsibility and dignity of national power of each of them. In England all that seems obvious to us. We never regard the British Empire as something outside England, something that limits England's position in the world. We think of it as our Empire, not in the sense in which a man speaks of his property, but in the sense in which a man speaks of his family, something that adds to the greatness of England's life, that enlarges her horizon, that helps her by the exercise of sympathy, understanding and co-operation, to get a better perspective in her own domestic life. Why should not that be true in the same sense of South Africa? Why should not South Africans, instead of talking of the "British" Empire, think of it as South Africa's Empire, as the expansion, the enhancement of South Africa's own national life, as the increase of opportunities for her; the opportunity to widen, perhaps, her actual territorial frontiers in course of time—if she can win over the Protectorates and Southern Rhodesia or get countries even further afield to come within the compass of her territories, —but even more as something which gives to South

Africa not merely the opportunity of enlarging her territories, not merely greater security and peace, not merely greater trade, but a greater opportunity of growing to her full stature as a great nation, a nation with a wide field of activity to work in, with a high sense of her mission and of her responsibility. It is in that sense that I should like to end with the words of your own poet.[1]

Hier sal ons haar 'n tempel stig
Waar vrijheid woon, waar vrede lig';
Bereid in groot en kleine plig,
Haar lief en leed te dra.

[1] Professor Jan Celliers.

X. CIVIC DINNER, CAPE TOWN.

SEPTEMBER 22ND, 1927

Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—You have reminded me, Mr. Mayor, that some seven weeks ago, your predecessor in office and the Corporation of this ancient mother city of South Africa welcomed us on our arrival. Now you bid us God-speed on our departure. Much has happened to us in those weeks, and it would be difficult for me to convey to you even a fraction of all the impressions which have left an ineffaceable mark upon our minds. There is the impression first of all of an unbounded and generous hospitality—a hospitality shown by your Government, by your great Municipal Corporations, by every person with whom we have come into contact, and of more value even than generous hospitality, of the kindliness, the friendliness, with which we have been met by every section of the community from one end of South Africa to the other. Those are things one does not easily forget.

There are other impressions. There is the impression which has never faded from my mind and which has been renewed and quickened again to a degree that I hardly thought possible, of the beauty of South Africa. The majesty of the Victoria Falls, the towering splendour of the Drakensberg, the spacious glory of the veld, and reserved to the end—I am glad it has been reserved to the end—the wonderful beauty in spring-time of this old Cape Colony, the old original home of European civilization in South Africa; the beauty of your flowers, your orchards, your woods, in their spring colouring, and then the marvellous ever-changing architecture of your mountains. I hope that some of the many friends to whom I vowed

that every minute of my time here was taken up, will forgive me if I confess that I snatched the whole of yesterday morning for Table Mountain. The thought of that morning, of the long ridge from Kloof Nek up to the summit, the occasional slopes covered with flowers, the straight walls of rock challenging the nerve and strength of the climber, the unforgettable glory of the view of range after range from the summit, and then the descent, down through oak woods pale green overhead and starred with white lilies below—those are things that are not likely to fade easily from my memory. I shall go on to see many beautiful and interesting things—the fertile plains of Australia, the bold Alps and blue lakes of New Zealand, the Rocky Mountains bound fast in the silence of their winter snows, but nothing that I shall see there is likely to blur in my mind the vision of the beauty that I have seen in the last few days.

I shall go away too, filled with many impressions of all the development that has taken place in South Africa since I visited it last, and with impressions even more vivid of all the development that I believe will take place in South Africa in the years immediately ahead.

I could speak at length on all these matters, but I am not sure that it is these matters which you wish me to speak about. You have referred to me, Mr. Justice Gardiner, as one who loves South Africa. And if that be true, and if I have come back to South Africa after many years, perhaps with some knowledge of what is taking place elsewhere in the world in the other young nations of the Empire, you may wish me to speak to you, with rather more frankness than an ordinary visitor would, on the general position in South Africa. You would wish me to say frankly, and without reserve, whether I think all is well with South Africa. It would be easy for me to answer with indiscriminate praise, to assure you that everything is for the best and could not be better. It would also be easy for me to savour my general praise with a little touch of criticism dropped in here and there. But I do not think

that that is what you want. I think you will want me to go rather nearer the heart of the matter and to say what, in all sincerity, I feel. If, then, I may do so without any sense of intrusion into your affairs, I would say that all should be well with South Africa, all can be well with South Africa, all must be well with South Africa, if she can realize two things—her need for faith in her own destiny and her need for unity within herself.

Now you may ask: What do I mean by South Africa's destiny? Let me put it to you as I see it myself. I see a mighty nation growing up at this end of the African Continent—in the first instance, I am thinking of a great European nation—far greater in prosperity and in numbers than any one in our generation has thought possible, developed by the use of science in every branch of agriculture and industry, developed by the co-operation which a more effective Imperial economic policy could bring about for the benefit of every one of the nations of the Empire, developed too by a wise and consistent promotion of immigration, aiming not so much at mere numbers as at bringing out the best type of men and women who will succeed for themselves and, what matters more, will be able to do good service to South Africa.

And when I think of that population growing in numbers and in importance, I think of it not as extruding or repressing the other races or peoples of this country. On the contrary, I believe myself that the true prosperity and development of European civilization in this country is also bound up intimately with the raising of the standard of life and of civilization of its older peoples. I believe that in the long run the elevation of the other races in this country—your loyal, contented, quiet, coloured population of the old Colony, to whose bravery Mr. Justice Gardiner just now paid a tribute, the intelligent Indian population with its memories of an old civilization overseas, the cheerful, straightforward, manly black native of the country—the development of all of these, their rise in education, in standard of living, in happiness, is, I believe, essential

both to the maintenance of the standard of life and of civilization among the European population, and even to the maintenance of its numerical strength.

I look to this greater South Africa of the future as concerned not only with the affairs of the Union within its present boundaries, but on the contrary as charged with a great civilizing and creative responsibility towards the whole of Africa northwards. From the Limpopo to the Nile there is a vast new Empire in process of evolution—the savage wilderness of a few years ago, the beginnings of settlement and civilization to-day. Who knows what wealth, what development, what progress, lie before it? Surely in that great task, the one part of South Africa in which European civilization is no mere exotic thing, but lives at home, ought to take a leading, guiding, inspiring part.

Again, I see South Africa taking a leading part in the future evolution of the Empire, contributing by the development of its resources in a policy of Imperial co-operation to the life and prosperity of the whole, as, indeed, to its own prosperity also; contributing likewise, with a growing sense of Imperial responsibility, its part in the counsels of our partnership in all its internal and external relations; contributing by a broad and far-sighted realization of the common interests that bind us together to the common defence; and also, not least important, contributing its own share to the statesmanship, the science, the thought and the expression of beauty and art of the whole great Commonwealth.

I see that vision of a great nation, a nation truly national in the intensity of its patriotism, in the many-sided diversities of its culture, of its industry, of all its productive and social life, but a nation which is also truly Imperial in the breadth of its outlook, in its high sense of responsibility, in its sympathy, understanding, toleration, helpfulness towards the other members of the brotherhood, and through them to humanity at large.

But if South Africa is to attain that destiny she must

be united within herself. Indeed, if such a destiny is clearly before the minds of her people, then surely they must inevitably work for unity, and inevitably set their faces like iron against anything that would make for disunion. Formal unity, structural constitutional unity, was attained by South Africa nearly twenty years ago—obtained, indeed, in a form more complete and more effective than in any of the other great Dominions. That was a great thing. That marked the conclusion of wellnigh a century of struggle and conflict, leading inevitably to unity. The rights and wrongs of those past conflicts will, no doubt, always be a matter of interest to the historian. But to a patriotic South African, who thinks of South Africa's future, those rights and wrongs will matter very little compared with the great fact that Union was achieved, and that in the end South Africa secured a political instrument by which she can carry out her national will and fulfil her destiny.

Formal unity is, no doubt, an essential thing, but formal unity will not carry you very far if unity of the spirit is lacking, if old grievances have simply been translated from the international sphere to the party sphere. Party can be a great instrument for good to a nation and a means for preserving alive that public interest which is essential to free government. But party to be useful always presupposes a certain common agreement upon the foundations of national life. If that agreement is lacking, then party may indeed become a destructive and a poisonous thing in the life of a nation. The question I would ask is: is there any valid reason why unity on essentials should not prevail in the national life of South Africa? You, Mr. Gardiner, spoke just now about the great stocks that compose the social fabric of South Africa's national life. Two great races, closely akin in their origin, even more akin in their spirit, akin in the same unconquerable love of freedom, akin in the same tenacity of purpose—is there anything in the world so obstinate as a Dutchman except an Englishman?—races that came originally from homes side by side

on the Continent of Europe, and were separated afterwards by only a few miles of open North Sea; races that have worked together or fought with each other in close association throughout history. I need not remind you of the centuries during the Middle Ages, when for trade and other reasons England and the Low Countries were most intimately associated. Nor need I remind you how, in the great struggle for the freedom of the spirit in the sixteenth century the burghers of Holland and the free citizens of England stood side by side against the world. Who can say whether a united Netherlands would ever have come into existence but for the support of Elizabethan England? Who can say whether, but for the gallant struggle of the Netherlands, King Philip's Armada might not have crushed English freedom? They were joined together again in the long struggle against Louis XIV, when a great soldier-statesman combined the two nations and brought them to victory. No doubt, when freedom was won, when it came to the expansion of trade and commerce, that expansion brought us against each other. We competed for commerce, we fought for supremacy at sea. In the end England prevailed, but she prevailed not because her merchants were better traders than the Dutch or because her seafarers were more intrepid, not because her sailors and admirals were more courageous. Blake and Albemarle, van Tromp and de Ruyter were no ill-matched pairs. England prevailed because many centuries before, the English section of the Low German people were well advised enough to cross the seas and seek for themselves a safe island base. They had only one front on which to fight, one element on which to make sure of mastery. The Netherlands always had behind them their open frontier and the double task of holding the seas and, with a small population, of standing up to the great powers of the Continent. It was that weakness, inherent in their geographical position, which, during the long struggles of the Napoleonic wars, also lost to them the Cape of Good Hope.

From that date onwards English and Dutch in South

Africa have worked together, and sometimes struggled against each other, in the shaping of a great nation. Many South African history books have been written whose main theme has been the conflict of English and Dutch. I wish some patriotic South African would one day write a history devoted entirely to what English and Dutch have done in co-operation, on the field of battle and in the fields of peace, for the making of South Africa—from the earliest times when Dutch and English frontiersmen confronted the onset of the Kaffir hordes in Eastern Cape Colony, down to the immortal memories of Delville Wood—and to all that pioneers, adventurers, farmers, statesmen of both races have done to make South Africa from the beginning. I think such a history would be more worth writing than many histories that have been written. In such a partnership, in which both have worked together, why should we think more of the occasions on which we have differed and fought than of the occasions on which we have stood shoulder to shoulder?

Even when it comes to the memories of past conflicts, I would not say that we should forget them. Why should we? They are none of them dishonourable memories. But I would rather say, let us remember them, not to rake up old grievances, not to think less of each other, but to think more of each other. Let each of us honour not only our own special memories, but the memories of our fellow South Africans. If Dutch South Africans honour the courage, enterprise and endurance of the Voortrekkers, why should not English South Africans honour them too? And why should not Dutch South Africans equally honour all that the 1820 Settlers endured and achieved in bringing civilization to the eastern parts of this country? When we come to more recent conflicts, why should we remember what was weakest in the case of our opponents and the things that divided them from us? When we think of President Kruger, need we remember the things that divided us? Cannot we rather think of that unconquerable strength of

will, that courage, that stubborn love of independence, which, after all, both English and Dutch alike honour in any man? If English South Africans think of President Steyn, let them think of his unquenchable passion for freedom, that passion which has been the master force in English life throughout the centuries. And so I would suggest that Dutch South Africans should equally recognize the vision, the far-sighted statesmanship, the creative and administrative power of men like Cecil Rhodes, or Alfred Milner, and be proud to recognize them, too, as fellow-workers in the making of the South African nation.

There has been one obstacle to unity in recent years arising from doubt and misunderstanding—that is the doubt in the minds of Dutch South Africans, whether their English fellow-citizens meant the same thing as they did by national freedom, whether they did not mean by it something limited, circumscribed, kept subordinate to a power outside South Africa, something which would make South Africa always a secondary object—a satellite, as it were, of a greater sun. That doubt, if ever there was justification for it—and no one who truly understood the spirit of British liberty could have believed there was—should have been removed for good and all by the conclusions of the last Imperial Conference. That Conference made it clear that neither in the minds of British statesmen, nor of Australian, nor of Canadian statesmen, was there any conception of the national life of the Dominions which placed them in a position of inferiority or of subordination to the national life of Great Britain. On the contrary, that Conference made it clear that Great Britain had brought the younger nations of the Empire into full partnership with herself, as equal nations, enjoying equal freedom, an equal responsibility in the preservation of our great Commonwealth.

That means, or ought to mean, the end of any doubt that can separate one section of South Africa from another, and the end of any differences that might maintain or revive that racial discord. Surely, in such circumstances, it

would be a tragedy if the mere momentum of party politics, without any real principle at issue, were to bring back again that bitterness, and set back the progress of South Africa for years. I know well what are the bonds of loyalty that bind Governments and party leaders to their followers. I know well the difficulties of departing from any course of policy or of opposition once embarked on. Yet there are times when in the history of a nation the consciousness of a great national issue at stake may enable men to get outside the ruts in which party strife tends to fix the course of a nation's development. After all, twenty years ago, when Union was at issue, very difficult and contentious questions were overcome or, in some cases, circumvented, to make formal unity possible. It may be that something of the same purpose, the same determination to overcome difficulties, might bring about that unity of the spirit which I believe nine-tenths of the people of South Africa of every section desire to-day.

I do not think I ought to say more. It is not for me to interfere in South African affairs. I will only say that when I leave your shores and cross the wide waste of waters between you and the great Island Commonwealth of the Southern Seas, my prayer for South Africa will be that she may have faith in her own destiny and see that destiny so clearly, that for its sake she may be willing to overcome every obstacle that exists to-day to the unity of her people.

AUSTRALIA

XI. PARLIAMENTARY DINNER, ADELAIDE.

October 19th, 1927

I have come here to learn something about the affairs and conditions of Australia, to learn something of its immense opportunities, something also of the practical difficulties which stand between you and the full realization of those opportunities. I have come, too, at a time of immense interest in the affairs of the British Empire, at what is indeed a creative time, the beginning of a new era separated by a great interval, by a great gulf, from that period, in one sense only a few years ago, when I last visited Australia. The years between may not have been very many but in those years we have all passed through a great experience, through a great trial. That British Empire, which our enemies thought would crumble to pieces at the first shot of the War, and which those of little faith among us never believed capable of any concerted effort or of any sacrifice for a common cause, proved itself the most united, the strongest power that the world has ever seen. It passed through the fiery furnace of war unbroken, unconquered. But in those fateful years its constitution underwent a profound change, not so much in the direction as in the rate of its evolutionary progress. It developed in those few years more than it could have developed in a generation of peace.

It was, I believe, inherent in the very first grant of Colonial self-government to the infant communities on the coasts of Australia or in North America that the freedom thus given never had any defined limit. It was never contemplated that for all time British citizens overseas should enjoy a more restricted or an inferior citizenship

in power or privilege to that enjoyed by British citizens in the Mother Country; never contemplated that the young nations overseas should be confined within a narrow and less ample national life than that of Great Britain. It was only as a matter of practical convenience that there was a broad division of functions. The young self-governing communities concentrated their efforts on the tasks immediately in front of them, the development of the territories with which they were entrusted, the overcoming of the immense natural difficulties with which they were confronted, while, as a matter of convenience, Great Britain retained the responsibility for the common affairs of the Empire, for the relations of the Empire with the outside world, for an overwhelming share in the burden of Imperial Defence.

That situation in its broad outline continued up to the eve of the Great War. Great Britain, as late as 1914, was still the Central Power exercising a general responsibility for the conduct of Imperial affairs. The Dominions —young nations as they had already become—were still content to control their own local affairs and to leave the exclusive say and responsibility in Imperial affairs to the Mother Country. Then came the War. The moment war was declared, the younger nations of the Empire, not waiting to be asked, not subject to any control, freely shouldered the greatest of all responsibilities, at the peril of their own existence. I need not dwell upon what they did, upon the splendid valour of the youth of Australia, shown on many a battlefield, nor on the valour, no less than theirs, shown by the youth of Canada, New Zealand and South Africa, side by side with the splendid manhood of the Old Country. Those things are written for ever in the history of the War itself. They are also inscribed deeply in the history of our constitutional progress, for when the War continued and we came to take counsel together, the statesmen in the Dominions realized that they had undertaken the greatest of all responsibilities, that of venturing the lives of their citizens, without having had

any say in those responsibilities for the conduct of the foreign policy which led up to the War. They felt that that was not a position which could occur again. If they took up one great responsibility, that of taking part in the Empire's wars, it could only be coupled with the other responsibilities so closely connected with it. They felt, too, that, if they had made an effort in the War equal to that of many an independent Power outside, their national status should be recognized as such by the outside world. The consequence was that during the War, at those important Imperial Cabinets and Imperial Conferences which took place in 1917 and 1918, and at the Peace Conference afterwards, a very rapid change took place in the relationship between Great Britain and the Dominions—a change which would in any case have come about in the course of time but which came about much sooner owing to the War, and which found its final and formal expression in the conclusions of the last Imperial Conference.

That Conference laid down a conception of Imperial authority and responsibility very different from the conception of 1914. It is a conception by the light of which we no longer think of all authority and responsibility of Empire as vested in Great Britain as the Central and Directing Power, but rather of authority and responsibility shared freely and equally by all the partners in our Imperial Commonwealth—a responsibility held, as the lawyers would say, jointly and severally by all of us. We are each of us free in our own Parliaments, in our own Governments, to act without any orders or any restraint from without. But we each exercise our freedom as trustees for the whole. We exercise it so as never to forget our common unity, for unity is no less vital a part of our political faith throughout the Empire than our faith in freedom. Freedom, full, unfettered, unqualified, is the birthright of all of us. But unity is the moral law which directs the exercise of that freedom. We, in Great Britain, I think, can claim that in the past we have exercised our freedom with some sense of our trusteeship. Our foreign policy and our defence

policy, our economic policy, in great measure, at any rate, though not perhaps always as fully as one might have wished, have all been guided by a consciousness that we are trustees for the Empire as a whole. That, I think, has been true of Australia also. Her defence policy before the War, her economic policy before the War and since, her mighty effort during the War itself, have all shown a realization of her Imperial responsibilities. What you yourself have just said, Mr. Premier, shows that you are concerned that Australia, in controlling and developing the great Continent which has been entrusted to her people, is conscious of the fact that she does so in trust for the Empire.

We have learned to realize in the War how much we are dependent upon each other. I believe none of us can come through the difficult, but also immensely hopeful years in front of us unless we work together as a united Empire, with a consciousness of our responsibility to each other. We have to learn to work together in the conduct of our foreign affairs, and to co-operate in our common defence. I need not stress that particular aspect of things to-night, though I would remind you, in a sentence, of one aspect of it. Our Empire came into existence, and will only remain in existence, as an Oceanic Power. It was by the freedom of the seas that Australia was founded. It is by retaining for ourselves the freedom of the seas that Australia and Britain can live, and none of us can afford to allow this Empire of ours to fall into a position of inferiority at sea to any Power. I need hardly remind you that behind foreign policy and defence there lies the material basis for these things—economic development, wealth, efficiency, in a word, man-power. Here again the only key to the future lies in co-operation.

XII. GOVERNMENT DINNER, MELBOURNE.

October 31st, 1927

You began, Mr. Premier, the more serious part of your speech by reminding us of the great words of Burke on the eve of the fateful quarrel between England and her American Colonies. Those words, rejected at the time, were yet not spoken in vain. In the doctrine of freedom then laid down was the seed of future Imperial unity, the germinating idea of a new British Empire greater than the one we lost 150 years ago. In that spirit one young community after another grew up, joining together in fulness of time as great Dominions, and only last year at the Imperial Conference the logical conclusion of that process of development was accepted with the consent of all those concerned.

In the Resolutions of that Conference we laid down the principle that binds us together, the principle of equal freedom in a common unity under the same Crown. There are a few critics who think that in accepting that principle we have weakened essential links that bound the Empire together. I do not believe that we have weakened a single link that has had any binding force for a generation past. On the contrary, I believe that in accepting the principle of equality of freedom we were also accepting the principle of equality of responsibility. It was not a question of the younger nations in the Empire being recognized as separate nations outside the Empire, but of their being admitted to an equal partnership within the Empire. We in Great Britain have not regarded those Resolutions as absolving us from our Imperial responsibilities. We still believe that it is our

duty in whatever we do to think not only of the interests of Great Britain and of her dependencies, but always to keep in mind the wider interests of the Empire as a whole, to see how we can make our policy coincide and harmonize with the policy of our sister nations, and to see how we can use our opportunities of co-operating with them, whether it be for security, or for increased development, or for anything that may contribute to the uplifting of national life.

I believe that in the wider freedom that exists to-day, every one of the younger nations of the Empire is becoming no less conscious of that same responsibility, that same trusteeship. Australia is free to do what she will with her own territory. But it is as a trustee that she exercises that freedom in the interests of her own people and in the interests of the Empire. She is free, no less, to exercise her power and influence on the world outside as she may herself decide, but always with a view to the good of the Empire as a whole; always bearing in mind that she, too, is an Imperial nation with the greatest tradition in the world behind her—a tradition which she has enriched in many a direction in the last century, in social development, in conquest of the wilderness, enriched too by the noble sacrifice of her valiant sons in the War.

In all these matters we have come to a new conception —the conception not of a centralized Empire, in which one part dominates over the rest, nor even of an Empire in which one member carries a common responsibility while certain other members are free to live their own local life as they will but have no responsibility whatever for the common weal, but of a true partnership in which all of us, free to act each as we believe right, as we believe to be in accordance with our own interests, are also actuated by a sense of responsibility and loyalty towards each other. We are all subjects of the same Crown and therefore fellow-subjects to each other, owing loyalty to each other. Our Parliaments are all Parliaments in which the same Crown is an essential element, in virtue of which we are bound each of us in our legislation to keep in view the common

interest, as well as our own. We are thus each ever reminded and conscious of a wider and higher responsibility which enlarges and ennobles our national life, investing it with a higher and finer sense of responsibility than can be enjoyed by any nation living for itself alone.

It is a natural part of that conception that we should endeavour to keep in touch with each other, because we can only work effectively if we know each other's conditions, if we understand each other's policy, if we understand each other's personality. Ours is an Empire which is maintained, not by control from without but by contact from within, and it is only our natural duty as citizens of the Empire that we should endeavour to understand the problems of the Empire as well as our own, and to get into touch as far as we can with all our fellow-citizens in the Empire. If that holds good for all of us as citizens, it should be doubly true of those of us who are legislators and members of Governments. I certainly regard it as essential that anyone who claims to hold high office—above all in the British Parliament—should only be deemed to be qualified if he has made a real endeavour to understand the needs, the aspirations and the personality of his fellow-citizens across the seas.

I shall go back to my tasks at home refreshed, invigorated and inspired by what I have seen. I have undertaken this long journey through the Empire—a journey right round the world—to try and see where we can more effectively co-operate with each other. Co-operation covers many things—co-operation for security comes no doubt first and foremost. What that meant we understood when the Great War came. There was no failure of co-operation then. We stood together. If danger should again threaten us in the world's affairs as it threatened us then, I am sure that the measures for meeting that danger before it is too late will be readily taken by all the partners. Meanwhile, in the years immediately before us the problem that confronts us all more directly than that of defence is the problem of the development of our industries, the building

up of our population, and the maintenance of our standard of living. Each of us has to face that problem. Believe me, we have got to face it in the Old Country. We have shouldered tremendous burdens—we have never flagged or hesitated for one moment to shoulder them. We are paying every shilling we owe. We have not done this at the expense of any domestic obligation. On the contrary, we have done an immense amount of work since the War in social regeneration, in improving the lot of our people, in housing, in social insurance, in removing the dread of unemployment. We are carrying on unflinchingly our many Imperial responsibilities. We are faced with great industrial problems. We shall fight our way through them. We are by no means dead or decadent. The War called for a capacity for sacrifice almost undreamt of before. It called no less for a capacity for organization and development. Those qualities, shown in the supreme moment, are not dead and are going to give the Old Country a new and greater power and outlook in the years ahead. The War has imposed its burdens upon Australia as well as upon us. Your re-settlement has created problems of finance and administration which still rest heavily upon your Governments. You also have other problems—how to find markets in the outer world for the development of your primary industries; how at the same time, without prejudicing that development, to build up your secondary industries.

Underlying those problems there appears to me to be one common factor, one common direction in which a solution can be found. One of the difficulties which each of us has to face is that we cannot easily find equal development in every direction. We have each of us certain lines on which we can develop more rapidly than on others, if only the markets were there. We are all of us confronted by the fact that our home market is too narrow for certain lines. But if we made the Empire our home market, how much easier it would be to solve all our problems! I am not suggesting any theoretical scheme of a single tariff and

internal free trade: that is not practical politics. All I am suggesting is effective co-operation by fiscal preference and in every other way. . . . To my mind this is not merely a matter of Empire sentiment, not merely a matter of wishing to benefit by our trade those who stand by us in the hour of danger. It is a pure economic question; it is a question of utilizing the creative power of our markets in such a way that it comes back to us again with renewed force. It is a question of the conservation of economic energy instead of its dissipation.

XIII. PARLIAMENTARY DINNER, CANBERRA.

November 3rd, 1927

You said, Mr. Prime Minister, in your eloquent and generous speech, that I had come on a long journey to meet with you here. That is true, but it is also true that the journey is no longer from London to Canberra than it is from Canberra to London, and that if it is a good thing for the Prime Minister and Ministers of the Commonwealth and of the Australian States to visit us in the Old Country, it is no less a good thing that we Ministers in Great Britain should return your courtesy by coming to visit you, and by endeavouring to learn something of your affairs.

It is an immensely stimulating experience to come out as I am doing, and to visit not only one great Dominion, but to visit each of the great Dominions in turn and to see, in most cases after the absence of many years, the great developments that have taken place. I am thinking not merely of material developments but also of those great changes in constitutional position and in the national spirit of the young countries growing up within our British League of Nations, to which you, Mr. Prime Minister, referred. It is especially interesting to me to come to Australia at the beginning of a new era in her national life. When I was here before the Commonwealth was in existence as a constitutional fabric, but I am not sure that it had then fully taken root in the heart and mind of the Australian people. Since then your people have submitted to a great and searching test. They stood that test nobly. Australia sacrificed much. But she also gained much, both in the recognition of the outside world, and also in her own

realization of her nationhood and of what that nationhood might yet become.

It is, I think, in some sense appropriate to this new phase of Australia's national life that she has now definitely recognized her national unity by the establishment of the national capital, which is laid down in your Constitution. It may well be that, in spite of the many practical difficulties, possibly inconveniences, attending that decision, there are compensating advantages in the outlook which a young nation may win on its own future in working in surroundings no less young than the Commonwealth itself. There is a tendency, I think, in those great aggregations of humanity, our modern cities, for those who live in their surroundings to think a little too much of social adjustment as between members of the community itself, and to forget some of the elementary, primal facts upon which the existence of the community depends. Here at any rate, growing up in a young city, in a young country, you who are the makers of the Australia of to-morrow may perhaps realize better than in any one of the great cities of this Continent how immense is the task of development before Australia, and that important as are the adjustments that have to be made continuously in the social structure, that social structure itself depends upon what Australians can do to wrest from Nature her resources, by their organization, by their science, by their skill and by their hard work.

If I have come at the beginning of a new era for Australia, I have also come at a time which is the beginning of a new era for the whole of the British Empire. The Imperial Conference, to which you, Mr. Prime Minister, referred, marked the close of one long period in the evolution of our British Commonwealth. It marked the end of the period of local self-government and the beginning of the new era of equal partnership in Imperial freedom and Imperial responsibility. That development began almost coincidently with the beginning of the Australian Colonies: It was a process begun under the inspiration of those ancient

principles of liberty which have been the foundation of Britain's greatness. It was begun also, as you suggested, Mr. Prime Minister, with no cut-and-dried scheme to guide us. Looking back over history, we can be sure that any federal scheme which might have been devised in 1840, in 1860, in 1880, or in 1900 would have been found unworkable within twenty years. We conceded wider power from stage to stage, as it became desirable and necessary. There was first of all the concession of the right to an independent tariff. Then there followed the establishment of separate armed forces. Last of all, following upon the part which the Dominions took in the Great War, came the final recognition at last year's Imperial Conference that there is no function of Government, no aspect of national life, which the Dominions cannot claim as of right, in so far as they find it convenient or desirable to exercise that function or that power; that there is no aspect of Government with regard to which Great Britain claims a right of priority or a control over her partners. Our partnership to-day is one of absolute and equal freedom. The question that we have to ask ourselves is: What is the use we mean to make of that freedom? Are we to use it in order each to go our own way, each to think only of our own immediate interests, each to ignore the wider interests of the whole?

To that question I think more than one answer can be provided. There is one answer which is given by our history. At every stage in the increase of freedom there has been a corresponding increase in true unity and partnership. There have always been pessimists who have prophesied the break-up of the Empire at every stage of its development, and who have consistently pointed out that self-government was bound to lead to anarchy. There were those here in Australia who, when Australian Federation was first mooted, declared that the very outline of the proposed federal Constitution contained some sinister design against the Empire. In the same way last year there were a few—not very many—who said that the last

links which held the British Empire together were being severed, and that there was nothing to prevent that Empire breaking up. That is quite true. Nothing—except the will of its peoples to remain united. And if the Prime Ministers who met at that Conference were all of one mind that we stood for equal freedom, they were also equally of one mind that this freedom was a freedom under the same Crown, a freedom inspired towards unity by the same traditions, the same ideals and the same responsibilities. Therefore, I venture to think that the lessons of history, at any rate, suggest that, having reached the final development of freedom, we shall be in a stronger position than ever before to co-operate freely in making our unity more enduring and more effective.

I must supply another answer; the answer of our interest. What interest has any member in breaking that partnership? If we are concerned with our security, are any of us likely to be more secure in a world of trouble and difficulty and competition by standing alone than if we know that we have true allies ready to stand with us in every cause when we are in danger? If we are anxious that that security should not involve us in unnecessary burdens, should not strangle our national life in a crippling militarism, then the sharing of a common task of defence makes the burden easier. On the other hand, if we look at those economic interests which at this moment loom largest to all our peoples, where can we each find a wider field for our development, more ample resources to draw on, better markets to sell in, than in an Empire like ours?

After all, happily, in this world the years of peace, years of fruitful co-operation, are more frequent than years of war, and I think with our people and with the world at large there is a strong determination that the years of peace shall be many, and that nothing that we can do should be left undone to make them last as long as is humanly possible. During those years, and with the burdens which the War has left us, our concern is how to build up our national life again—not only how to restore it to the place

where it was before the War, but also how to raise it to our own conception of what that life ought to be. I do not know what Australia's experience has been in this matter, but certainly in Great Britain the consciousness that in the struggle of the War we all stood together, that the men who seemed to have nothing to lose in the world came forward as readily to make their sacrifice as those who had large possessions, has brought about a deeper realization of what we owe to our fellow-citizens, a greater sense of social duty, a keener desire to raise the whole standard of life and the well-being of our people.

All that postulates a material basis on which to build, and therefore we are all concerned not merely in getting back to where we were before the War, but in raising the whole economic life of our communities so as to sustain, on a broader basis, a higher standard of life. When we do that we are each of us confronted by our own particular difficulties. We have our difficulties in Great Britain as you have yours in Australia, as the other Dominions have their difficulties, each of its own kind. But there is one feature that runs through all our problems and is characteristic of the difficulties which each of us have to face. They are largely difficulties arising from the limitation of our domestic market, from the unequal character of our development, unequal possibly because our resources in one direction are vast, our capacities in another direction are limited. In Great Britain our natural resources are limited, but our resources of organization and of skilled workmanship are almost unlimited. With you the resources of your home market are limited by a small population, your resources in primary production are almost unlimited in one sense and yet limited all the time by the consideration of the problem where to find a market. Your great resources of industrial development are again limited, at any one moment, by a consideration of your home market and therefore of your primary production, and by the problem of immigration and of settlement.

For each of us the problem is a different one. But the

problem would, for each of us, be infinitely easier to solve if we could equalize, pool, and stabilize our markets by joining them together, if we could look, not only to the narrower home market of our own particular unit but to the wider home market of the Empire and to the resources and power of a common economic development. That does not mean that any one of us need sacrifice our own conception of domestic development: there is no question of asking for that. But what we can do, if we realize that there is a wider home market available to us, is to calculate what it pays us to do, and to balance the factors which determine which industry to foster most, which to protect now, and which to consider at the next stage, and how far we dare go in great schemes of development. All those calculations are immensely easier and simpler, if we realize that we are bringing to bear on our problem not merely the economic power of one unit, limited in one case by territory and in another by population, but the vast power of our common resources.

It is not merely a question of mutual helpfulness in trade or of preferring one trade to another. The essence of the matter lies in keeping our trade within our own wider circle. In doing that, we have all the advantages which Protection claims in the keeping of economic energy within one's territory, and also those advantages of concentration on the most paying lines which are urged by the advocates of a Free Trade policy. It seems to me we can get the best of both conceptions in a policy in which we combine the development of our individual home markets with a complementary concentration on the development of our whole Commonwealth. Only the large-scale industries can to-day produce really cheaply; and when the scale is large enough the competitive power of the surplus of a great industry is overwhelmingly destructive when any smaller industry attempts to stand against it. The same is true of the competitive power of the surplus even of many of the primary industries.

Take, for example, the United States. They have

created in the last generation or two a power both of primary and of secondary production with which it is difficult for any other nation to compete. Your fruits, fresh or preserved, are kept out of the American market, but what chance have they in the British market against a competition in which a surplus of 1 or 2 per cent. is as great as the whole of your production? We, too, are faced in the near future with a similar problem in many industries when we compete with American production. Yet when you look at the natural resources of the British Empire, at the character and ability of our people, we are not one whit inferior to the United States. If we can pool our resources, if we can work together instead of each working in his own compartment, it may not be many years before we can equal and even surpass them. From the economic point of view, at any rate, I can see no limit to the material expansion which can take place in the British Empire in the next generation or two, if our various peoples were once seized, as the Americans have been seized, with the idea of the development of their territory—the conception of what we could do to help each other to develop it.

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XIV. PARLIAMENTARY DINNER, SYDNEY.

November 5th, 1927

I hope, Mr. Premier, before I say anything further that I may be allowed to pay a tribute of sympathy to those who have suffered through the tragic disaster, only a few hours ago, in the waters of your beautiful harbour. The thought of that tragedy brings back to my memory the last occasion on which I visited that harbour. It was then a day of pride and rejoicing, for on that day your citizens went out in their thousands on your harbour to welcome the *Australia* and her sister ships arriving for the first time from Great Britain, steaming in between the Heads—Australia's young Navy coming home to begin Australia's Imperial work. The tens of thousands that lined the banks of the harbour were no doubt conscious that an event of great significance had happened, though none of them could realize the immediate future that was to add so much to its significance. There followed years of suffering, of sorrow and of sacrifice. In those years Australia's young Navy showed its quality, and on many a stricken field Australia's sons, whether on the sandy cliffs of Anzac or in the churned slime of Passchendaele, won for her by their heroism and their endurance a new position in the comity of nations and a new position in that brotherhood of common ideals and common political faith which we call the British Empire.

Those years, Mr. Premier, witnessed something like a new birth of the Australian Commonwealth. Australia emerged from that struggle with a keener consciousness of her national entity, with a surer certainty of her greatness and also, I believe, with a deeper sense of responsibility

and a more serious outlook upon the great problems which confront her. And with that keener national spirit has come—inseparable from it, not antagonistic to it—a deeper consciousness of the unity that binds together all the partners in the Empire, a stronger faith in the wider destiny which embraces us all. That experience was not Australia's alone. If she stood the ordeal of fire and emerged victorious by sacrifice, so did each one of her sister nations. So, too, did that little Old Country in the North Sea from which I have come. There were some who thought before the War that Britain was decadent, that her pulse had become sluggish, and that there was no cause for which she was capable of making the effort she had so often made in the great days of old. The War proved that those great days of old were no greater than our own day. No sacrifice, no effort which Britain had ever made was equal to the effort she put out in that struggle, to the sacrifices she endured, to the spirit with which she inspired the whole body of her Allies and sustained them to victory. Not only Australia, not only the Dominions, not only Great Britain, but the whole Empire, had its new birth in those years of trial and purification.

It is that new birth which has been reflected in those Resolutions of the last Imperial Conference, to which you, Mr. Premier, referred. Those Resolutions were, on the part of Great Britain, a willing tribute to what the Dominions had achieved, to what they have become. On the part of the Dominions, they represented not only an assertion of their right to be regarded as full-grown nations, but an acceptance of the responsibilities which come with manhood, a recognition of that joint and several trusteeship in the British Empire which was once regarded as Britain's alone but which is now common to all of us. With that new status, with that new recognition of equal freedom, has come a recognition, equally clear, of our duty and our interest in co-operation.

The conception of co-operation is far stronger to-day throughout the Empire than it ever was. We learned

something of its value in the War when it came to co-operating for our common existence. But the War also taught us that it might mean no less in other things. The War revealed, as in a flash of lightning, some of the great elementary truths which underlie our community as a whole. Theories, fine spun, elaborate economic theories, seemed very small things when we were fighting for our lives. Ever since then we have come to look upon all our problems from a very different angle. We have begun to realize that co-operation might be even more effective in the fruitful work of economic development than it was in the field of war. That conception has never been unfamiliar in the Dominions. Men like Deakin here in Australia, Cecil Rhodes in South Africa, or John A. Macdonald in Canada, preached it many years ago, and Australia, like the other Dominions, even before the War, gave proof of her desire to co-operate in the field of trade and has given increasing proof of that desire since. There were many long years during which we refused to listen, during which we declared that there were economic theories that were more sacred to us than any conception of Imperial unity. Believe me, we have changed, and are changing greatly in Great Britain. We may still have our domestic difficulties which delay our progress; I know you will understand and allow for them.

Let me take the field of co-operation in trade. Since the War we have established preferences in various directions, not numerous, perhaps, but I think in each case of substantial value in some important field of production in the Empire, and in many cases of substantial value to your own people here in Australia. We have in the last year or two dedicated substantial sums, amounting in future to £1,000,000 a year, in order, by publicity, by research, by the organization of trade, to help your people, whether they be those who are native born among you or those who have come to settle in your land, to help them to make good and to build up the strength of your nation.

It is in the same spirit that we have been prepared to

co-operate with you in the task of peopling your great and still largely empty Continent. In this matter we are not thinking of merely trying to solve our own unemployment problem or shirking our own domestic responsibility. Britain's unemployment problem is for Britain to solve. If she will do nothing to solve it at home, she has no right to attempt to solve it by endeavouring to create an unemployment difficulty here, thrusting away from herself her own responsibility and thrusting it upon you. That is not our conception. Our conception is that your need of population is a matter in which we can help you without loss to ourselves. Nay more, with benefit to ourselves, for it is our belief that your prosperity is our prosperity, and that the growth of Australia's population, of her wealth, of her employment, of her standard of living, cannot fail to contribute to the growth of Britain's trade, to the employment of her working population, and to the security and prosperity of the whole Empire. It is from those points of view that we wish to co-operate—to co-operate along practical, fruitful lines, not ignoring the difficulties, not overlooking the complexity of the problem, always realizing that it is no mere handling of goods but the homes and fortunes of individual men and women with which we are concerned—believing that by working together we can do something which will offer a greater hope to thousands of individuals, which will help Australia solve many of her own most urgent problems, and which at the same time will contribute to our own prosperity at home.

In all these matters there is growing at home, and I think overseas, a new vision—the vision of the immense possibilities which lie before us all, if we only work together, if, instead of struggling along each in our own watertight compartment, each limited by a particular set of natural resources, we can pool our resources, build up round our individual home markets a wider home market for the good of all, and utilize the economic strength which is diffused in the course of trade in such a way that it comes back to

us again and again reinvigorated and refreshed instead of being dissipated in the outside world. That vision—with the possibility of building up something in the way of material wealth greater than the world has ever seen before—is, I think, present to your minds here and in the other Dominions, and it is becoming increasingly present to the minds of the people in the Old Country. We are slow people to move, but when we do move, we move with a very sure purpose and with a determination that rarely stops before the end is achieved. I, for my part, believe, though we may have our difficulties and our controversies at home over this issue, that within the next few years Great Britain will begin to throw herself whole-heartedly into the leadership in this task of building up through organized economic co-operation a fabric of wealth and of prosperity such as no other nation or combination of nations has ever created.

If we believe in economic co-operation, if we believe in co-operation for defence, we do not believe in them merely for their own sakes. Our Empire is a Commonwealth for Security. It is a Commonwealth for Increase. But it is also a Commonwealth of the Spirit, a partnership in the uplifting of man to higher ideals and finer purposes. Every man who came from the other end of the world during the great struggle of the War did so, I believe, not because he thought the British Empire the best and cheapest insurance for the security of his own country, but because he felt that that Empire was something worth preserving for its own sake, for the ideals, the principles, the traditions which it embodies. If to-day we believe in the need for economic expansion and development, it is not merely because the consideration of our vast resources makes us confident that we can build up a greater fabric of wealth, of economic strength, than has ever been seen, but much more because we believe that in building it up we can provide a basis for things that are far more important than mere wealth.

We can boast without undue pride, that in the course of our

history we have done some things that mattered to the world. We have learned at home how to reconcile freedom with order and with responsibility. We are learning to-day in the wider relationship of the Empire how to reconcile complete unfettered, uncontrolled local freedom with effective unity of action for common purposes and for the sake of common ideals. We are striving, each in our own community, how to solve the problem of helping the weak and standing by those who are apt to fall by the way, and yet how to do that without weakening the incentive, the enterprise, the energy and the willing spirit of the individual. Again, in the wider sphere of Empire, we are endeavouring to solve the problem of how to develop and utilize, for the benefit not only of ourselves but of the world at large, the vast resources of the territories committed to our charge, but yet also in those same territories to make sure that we do justice to our trusteeship for their weaker and more backward peoples, how to raise the standard of their health and their well-being, how to educate them, how to prepare them in such measure as is possible in order that they may be able to receive at any rate the beginnings of that political freedom and responsibility which we prize so much for ourselves.

In all these things, we have to think not only of ourselves, not only of that inner League of Nations which is composed of ourselves and the Dominions, not only of the whole Empire over which the British flag flies, but also of the world outside. Our ideal is no Chinese ideal of isolation, not even that ideal of keeping aloof from external responsibilities or entanglements which sometimes appears to exercise such an influence on our kindred nation, the United States. Our very position on the map precludes such an attitude. We live scattered all round the world. This tour of mine round the Dominions is itself also a tour round the whole world. We are no less precluded by our history and by what the world expects of us. The tradition of England's moderating and mediating influence in world affairs is one worth maintaining. Whether it be

through the machinery of the League of Nations or through the ordinary diplomatic channels, I believe it to be a good thing for the world that the weight of Great Britain, with the associated weight of her partners in the Empire, should continue to be thrown, not in any spirit of undue meddling or interference, but in helpful counsel when our counsel is needed, into the scales for peace and for progress. It is, moreover, in our own truest interest that we should recognize a responsibility, a duty, towards the world outside. The life of a nation, or of an Empire, is a thing made up of many factors, economic, social, spiritual and moral. The greatest danger to the life of a nation, as to that of an individual, the greatest source of discord and discontent within and of failure in its external relations, is too narrow and selfish a concentration upon itself. There is, I know, a very natural temptation, in a great sunny continent like Australia, towards a detached, self-complacent, selfish conception of national life. And yet I believe that the fellowship of the British Empire, with the appeal which it makes to each of its members to think not only of its own national life but of a wider common interest, a wider responsibility, first of all within the Empire, but also through the Empire towards the world at large, must, for Australia as for all of us who belong to the Empire, make for a higher and finer national life. It is from this point of view above all, because of what Imperial unity and Imperial responsibility mean to the individual life of each of our nations, that I would commend to you the study of the problems that bring us together in the daily working of our Britannic Commonwealth.

XV. CIVIC RECEPTION, TOOWOOMBA.

NOVEMBER 11TH, 1927

This is the day when from end to end of the British Empire round the world our people meet together to celebrate a great deliverance, to recall the moment when an immense load was lifted from the hearts of every man and woman throughout the British Empire; when the long and agonizing nightmare of the War came to an end, and when those who had dear ones at the front could at last feel that their hearts were eased and that the peril was over, and those who had lost their best sighed with relief that the sorrow that had come to them was at any rate spared to their friends.

Thinking over that day, over all that it stands for in the way of heroism and sacrifice and suffering, we cannot but help sometimes asking ourselves the question: Was it all worth while? There is one answer that one could give to that question straightaway: it is to ask another. What would the position have been to-day if the War had ended otherwise? I am thinking not merely of what we might have had to pay in ransom, of money or of territory, to a victorious enemy, but rather of what would have been the moral position of ourselves and of the world if we had been defeated, or even if we had dishonoured our pledges, stood on one side, and made profit out of the War, and then found ourselves discredited, isolated, in the face of a victorious Power confident with good reason that the gospel of aggression for aggression's sake was justified by the course of history.

There are many people who are a little too inclined to be critical about the state of the world to-day, because

the millennium has not come at once, because the League of Nations has not put an end to every national ambition, every possible cause of conflict. They say that things are as bad as they ever were. I think that is a great error. The League of Nations may never be a perfect instrument, or even, in the material sense, a very powerful instrument for peace. But it stands for a spirit in international relations very different from the spirit which would have prevailed if our enemies had conquered. It is, at any rate, an expression of the belief that the relations between nations are governed by moral law and that war is an undesirable thing which no nation should lightly bring upon itself or upon others. If things had been otherwise, the gospel of success by war, the gospel that Prussia taught herself and began to teach Europe after a series of successful wars in the last century, would have been enthroned as the ruling gospel of mankind. That, at any rate, has been something worth purchasing.

Yet all the same, when I think of what the War meant and what has come from it, I am inclined to think less of its effect upon the world outside than of its effect upon ourselves within the British Empire, the effect it has had upon our spirit, upon our relations to each other, upon the whole temper and vision with which we approach our future. The effect of any great struggle depends mainly on the spirit in which it has been undertaken. I believe there was a spirit which sent our young men out freely to fight on the battlefields of Flanders and of France, in the East, wherever the War was fought. It may have been in part a feeling of resentment against the German people for what they had brought down upon Europe, in part a feeling of dislike for the political principles for which the German Empire of those days stood. But I think it was based far less on any feeling of resentment or of hatred, than on a feeling of passionate love, of love for our own Commonwealth, for all the principles of political freedom and fair play and toleration for which we believed it stood, and which we knew were in danger. If there is any

power in the world that can do great things it is the spiritual power that is created by sacrifice for a cause which is loved. It is for that reason I cannot help believing as well as hoping that the sacrifice and suffering of the War, so far from being vainly spent, have deeply enriched and strengthened the life of every one of our peoples and of the Empire as a whole.

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XVI. PARLIAMENTARY DINNER, BRISBANE.

November 12th, 1927

I should like to thank you, Mr. Premier, and your colleagues and all the people of Queensland with whom I have come into contact, for the wonderful experiences of the last few days. I have visited, I know, only a small part of your great State, but I have visited enough to give me some idea of what the people of Queensland have done in the last generation. I have gone through one fertile settled district after another which only thirty years ago was either impenetrable scrub or open forest where a few cattle were herded, but where there was no cultivation, no homesteads, no population. I have met everywhere prosperous settlers, happy homesteads, and—most interesting sight of all—healthy and beautiful children riding their ponies on their way to school. I have gained at any rate some idea of what the people of Queensland have already done, and of what they are capable of doing in the new era that lies before them and the whole of Australia. I agree that it would have been a good thing if I could have found time to see something of the wide plains of your west, or of the fertile regions of your tropical north. Still what I have seen is enough to give me some conception of the immense possibilities that lie before your State.

The question you naturally ask yourselves to-day—perhaps more searchingly than you ever did before—is: How are you going to develop those great possibilities? There is, as you have said, Mr. Premier, the solution, tempting and attractive as it might be at first sight, of developing this heritage of yours by coloured labour. I think the reasons which have led you to reject that solution

are very strong. You have referred to some of the problems, political and social, which arise when you attempt to mix on the same territory races on a wholly different economic and political plane, with wholly different traditions and conceptions of life. The United States would, I think, be glad to-day if they had postponed a little the development of their Southern States, and so avoided the difficult problem created by their negro population. South Africa, which I have just visited, had to accept that colour problem because it was already in the country. But I think that no one who realizes all the difficulties involved would willingly add the colour problem to the many problems you already have to face in a new country like yours.

There is, I think, another reason too, an economic as well as a social reason, which justifies your decision. The immediate economic advantage in the individual case of cheaper labour may well be obtained at a sacrifice of ultimate economic efficiency on the part of the community. The Asiatic and the negro may work on a more economic basis for his immediate employer than the white man, but the wholly white community has a higher standard of general efficiency, a higher standard of enterprise, a greater idea of scientific methods of development, greater collective energy in every direction, than a mixed community can ever display.

There remains, of course, the ultimate question of how far the experiment for which I have already given such strong reasons is physically possible, how far the white man can really make good in the tropics. We have not come to the end of the resources of science yet. When we talk of white men in the tropics we generally think of white men living under difficult conditions among a population already steeped in malaria and other so-called tropical diseases. We have not yet by any means tried out all that might be done by really well-adjusted methods of living, of housing, of clothing, by opportunities for easy transport from time to time to cooler latitudes. The experiment has never yet been fully tried out, but so far as it has gone

it at any rate shows that in climatic conditions, under which, elsewhere in the world, manual work is entirely conducted by coloured labour, the white man in Australia can maintain a high standard of efficiency. Your experiment, then, seems to me at any rate well worth continuing, worth it not only from the point of view of Australia alone, but because of its bearing on the whole problem of European civilization in the tropical regions of the earth.

There is another solution, that of hastening your development by lowering the standard of living of your own people. I think that, too, would be a mistaken solution. There can be no doubt that a high standard of living means a good home market. Those who are well paid can spend well, and therefore can to that extent afford support to the other industries of the country. The only condition which limits that factor is that a high standard of living must be accompanied by a high standard of efficiency. In the long run no community can consume more of the world's goods than it produces. If it produces efficiently and in abundance, it will have abundance of wealth. If it fails to produce efficiently, then the community as a whole, whatever its nominal wage standard may be, will in the long run end by having a low standard of living.

When it comes to the actual problem as to how development can be carried out, one is always confronted at the very outset, as you, Mr. Premier, have justly observed, with the question of the market—the home market or the market overseas. As you said, there is no market like the home market in its immediate effect upon the stimulation of development. A market is, however, only another word for people, for men and women who buy with the wages which they have received for productive work done. If you want to enlarge and strengthen your home market, you must secure a larger population within your own country. I think the point is an important one as affecting the whole attitude towards the question of migration. There is, I think, a tendency, not unnatural perhaps, to regard the immigrant as a competitor in the labour world.

But the true point of view, I would suggest, is that any new-comer who finds productive work is a new employer. As a purchaser, as a consumer, he necessarily becomes an employer of the labour of the rest of his fellow-citizens, a contributor to the volume of employment and a supporter of the standard of living of the community.

Let me take an instance. I saw in the paper a day or two ago a paragraph about the 2,500 boys who have come to Queensland since the War. One per cent. of these boys, it was stated, had failed entirely, 4 per cent. had been more or less unsuccessful, but 95 per cent.—more than 2,400 boys—had been successful. Those boys are, I understand, almost all engaged in primary production. They are not only employing themselves; they are indirectly employing many hundreds of your citizens in every other occupation. So far from having depressed the labour market in your country or lowered your standard of living, they have added to the opportunities in the labour market and helped to sustain the standard of living in the country. I would maintain, therefore, that, provided the new-comer is of the right type and is rightly placed, and not simply allowed, for want of proper organization, to drift into some already overcrowded centre or occupation, he is not a competitor but a helper in the labour market, and a support to the community.

It is from that point of view that we in the Old Country are willing and anxious to help you with that aspect of your problem. The last thing we want to do is to dump our unemployed on your shores in order that they should be unemployed here. Our unemployment, as such, is our own problem, our own responsibility, in Great Britain. But what we are prepared to do out of the abundance of our population is to co-operate with you in selecting the men and women who wish to make their home among you, who are going to succeed, or at any rate are likely to succeed, to make it easier for them to cross the ocean, to co-operate with you in making sure that when they do arrive, they take root and make good. We are willing to do this both be-

cause we believe it will help our industry and because as a matter of general co-operation within the Empire we think it right. We have our own economic problems to face. We are large importers, and always will be, of raw materials and foodstuffs from overseas. For that reason the oversea market must always be a matter of primary importance for us. And as we all know, the Empire market is the most valuable part of our oversea market. If, therefore, we co-operate with you in building up your home market, we are also co-operating in our own interests in building up our own Empire market. We have in this matter that community of interests of which you spoke, Mr. Premier, which enables us to work together, not with the idea that either side is trying to best the other, but with the knowledge that we are co-operating in doing something that is for the benefit of both of us. . . .

It is to try and learn something about these matters that I have set forth on my tour round the Empire. I want to find out what we can do to assist in your development. I want to know what is the volume of your production, what is the quality of that production, and what is the efficiency of that production, so that when I preach at home the doctrine of Empire trade I can answer the critics who say: "We cannot supply ourselves in the Empire; the goods are not there; the quality is not there; the efficiency is not there. Do not ask us to bolster up something inefficient." I want to be able to go back and say: "The goods are there; the quality is there, and the determination and capacity to produce efficiently are there also." I have also come out to discover how far the desire for co-operation exists here as well as in other parts of the Empire. Of that I have no doubt whatever. Wherever I have been I have met a desire to co-operate in trade, and indeed to co-operate in everything. Behind it all—that perhaps is the strongest impression that I shall carry home with me—is the true feeling of friendship which runs right round the Empire. Wherever I have been I have been received, not as a distinguished visitor from a foreign

country, but as a fellow-citizen, as a fellow-worker and as a friend. I have been received with hospitality; I have been received with kindness; but above all, wherever I have been I have been made at home. When I go back the one thing I shall feel, after having travelled right round the world, is that I have never left home and have never been anywhere but among friends.

XVII. MILLIONS CLUB DINNER, SYDNEY.

November 15th, 1927

I thank you for the welcome which you as business men have accorded to a representative of the senior branch of the well-established and reputable firm of John Bull & Co. That firm has passed through some vicissitudes in recent years, and through a critical period which has added considerable amounts to the debits on its ledger, but has also added a million square miles or so to the undeveloped assets belonging to the partnership. The experiences of that critical time have made us conscious of two things: of the need of a closer, more intimate, more equal co-operation between all the branches in the firm which culminated last year in a formal recognition of the equal partnership and equal responsibility of all the branches for the common interest, and of the importance not only of our co-operation but of the need for developing those vast, enormously rich, but barely touched territories which are our chief assets. As you have reminded us, Mr. Chairman, Australia is responsible, as trustee for the whole Empire, for not the least rich, not the least sparsely populated, and certainly not as yet the most fully developed of those estates. You have here a wonderful continent, of wonderful resources and infinite possibilities—a continent in which work has been achieved, remarkable in itself and a great tribute to the ability and enterprise of the handful of people who have done it, but on the other hand very small in its sum total compared with the vast amount of work yet to be done.

It is that aspect of this problem to which I understand the Millions Club specially devotes itself. It was started

some years ago in order to bring before the people of Australia the fact that Australia is an empty continent, that her vast resources and opportunities can neither be defended nor developed without a greater population, that even her difficulties, such as her occasional periods of drought, cannot be effectively dealt with unless there is the population to make provision for them. As an island Australia depends upon the Navy for its security. It has depended through all these years on the British Navy. That Navy will be as fully and unreservedly at its disposal in any conceivable danger as ever it was. But with the development of the world I cannot imagine that one little Island in the North Sea will be able for ever single-handed to keep all the seas of the world open for all the members of the partnership. Each of the partners must in an increasing measure become responsible for their share in the common task. That again is obviously a matter with which they can only deal effectively when they have got the man-power, the developed industries, the mobilized resources, which will enable them to fulfil their share of the common task without unduly diverting their substance from the fruitful works of peace.

No one would dispute the general proposition that if Australia had five times or ten times her present population, she would be able to make a much fuller use of her resources and maintain the same or even a higher standard of well-being for her people. The difficulty does not lie in the general proposition. But in the practical question of how you are to get there one is confronted with every kind of concrete difficulty and every kind of problem arising from the organization and financing of migration, from the problem of marketing, of tariffs, of the scientific development of resources. All these problems have to be dealt with in detail and cannot be disposed of by generalities. There is a further question which arises in connection with every problem—and it is going to make all the difference in the world—and that is the way in which every aspect is tackled: whether it is tackled single-handedly or whether

it is going to be tackled as part of a great policy of Imperial co-operation.

Let me turn to some of these problems—and I hope in doing so I shall not trespass upon any domestic controversy, though I know you will also wish me to speak with all the frankness that becomes a friend. Take first of all the most direct and obvious way of adding to your population, that of encouraging immigration. It is not so simple a matter as it sometimes sounds. There can be no question of dumping a vast mass of people on your shores and assuming that somehow or other they will make good. It is a question of finding the right type of man to succeed, of assisting him and his family across the ocean, of giving him the kind of reception that will make him feel at home when he lands, and then of seeing that he gets straight into some occupation where he can directly take part in the productive work of the country. If he does that, there can be no limit to the advantage which a steady and large flow of immigration will bring to Australia.

I know that on this subject there are certain ideas, not so much conscious as subconscious, based, I think, on a misunderstanding of the whole problem. There is the idea, very widely entertained, that the immigrant as such comes in as a competitor into the labour market, and by doing so diminishes the opportunities of employment for others, tends to create unemployment, and to lower the standard of wages and of living. I believe that to be an entire fallacy. Like many other fallacies connected with our industrial affairs, it arises from a confusion of ideas as to the source of employment. It is one of the weaknesses of our language that we are always talking in terms of "employer" and "employed," and using the word "employer" for the organizer of employment, the business man who organizes the work of the factory. He is called the "employer," but he is not as a matter of fact the true employer at all. The true employer, the only true employer of labour, is the purchaser of the goods that labour produces. Many of our social errors would be

avoided if only the public could keep that fact clearly in mind.

Every new citizen of Australia who comes into this country and takes up productive work, and spends on consumption within this country the wages that he fairly earns, is an employer of labour. As an employer of labour he gives employment to others, and tends to keep up the demand for labour, and so to keep up the standard of wages and the standard of living. I noticed the other day in a newspaper a brief reference to the fact that of 2,500 boys who had gone to Queensland since the war 95 per cent. had been successful and are still at work on the farms in which they were placed. Those youths have not only made a success for themselves ; they are, as purchasers and consumers, employing I daresay fully their own number of other people in different parts of Australia. And if there is unemployment anywhere in Australia to-day, that unemployment is not greater, but less, because those youths have come into the country in the last few years.

It is an entire mistake to assume that unemployment either here in Australia or in the Old Country is due to over-population. It may be due to defective organization, to a defective balance between different industries, but it is not due to over-population as such. Well-conducted immigration, so far from increasing unemployment, is indeed the only effective cure for it in a country like this. If there are men in industry unemployed to-day, the best opportunity of finding employment for them is to increase their home market in the other industries, and above all in the great primary industry of agriculture. To say that you ought to bring in no immigrants as long as there are any unemployed on your books—well it is almost as absurd as saying that you ought to allow no children to be born anywhere as long as there are any unemployed on the earth. What is needed to avoid unemployment is to make sure that the men you bring in are going direct to productive employment and are going to stay there, and that you do

not dump them promiscuously with no provision for what they are going to do afterwards. That, I admit, might well tend to add to the unemployment problem in your great cities. But that is not what we in the Old Country are contemplating. It is no part of our conception that migration is simply an easy way of solving our own unemployment problem at home by getting rid of some of our people. That is not our point of view.

Our unemployment problem is also a problem of the better organization of our own industries, and as such we have got to solve it at home. But what we do know is that an oversea market is of vital importance to us, and that no part of that oversea market is so important to us as the market in our own Dominions. Co-operation with you in the task of building up your population is, therefore, something well worth doing for us, because it is building up our best oversea market, and not because it means getting rid of people whom we do not want. What we are prepared to do, in co-operation with you, is to find the right stamp of man and woman, to assist them across the seas, to assist them to make good at this end. That is a matter in which Governments can do a good deal, but it is a matter which falls even more upon the community as a whole. It is the general reception of the immigrant by the community here that is even more important than anything that public authorities can do. Nomination by individuals or societies that promise to make themselves responsible for the individual immigrant is really far better than State responsibility for the immigrant. There is the individual care in seeing that the man is started on the right job at the right place, and there is also a very different attitude on the part of the man himself. There is always, wherever the State comes into play, the danger of spoon-feeding, the danger of the individual claiming as of right that things should be done for him. But when it is a friend who has helped him—the ordinary Englishman is glad of a friend's help; he never likes to presume on it—he likes to make good in his friends' eyes by his own work. From that point of view

I confess that I attach more importance than anything in connection with migration to such individual effort as that of nomination, to the work of those gentlemen who have taken the trouble to become Big Brothers and look after individual youths who come out here, to all the various forms of private activity which make the individual their care.

I spoke at some length here in Sydney the other night on the question of migration, and I do not wish to go further into it in detail now. There is, however, one thing that it is necessary to keep in mind, and that is, that, desirable as it may be to bring in the largest possible number of new citizens in the shortest time, there are certain factors which limit the rate at which you can work. One of these is money. The voyage round the world is a long and a costly one. There is only a very small proportion of those who might wish to come and try their fortunes in Australia who can afford the money required to pay the cost of the passage of a whole family. When they come here, money is required in one way or another, to start them. If they are started as individual farmers, anything from £1,000 to £1,500 may be required to get them going. If they are workers, the factory in which they are to work requires capital; if they are farm workers opening up a new district, that new district requires its roads, its railways, it may be its water conservation. You cannot add rapidly to the population of a country like Australia without requiring a great deal of additional capital. In that matter, I think we in the Old Country have co-operated and can co-operate very effectively. We have co-operated in the past by our financial legislation which has enabled the Australian States to borrow at lower rates than they could otherwise have done in the open market. Since the War we have co-operated in this business of migration by going half shares in the cost of every kind of assisted passage, and more recently by agreeing to contribute substantially to loans raised for development purposes which will bring in new settlers. We have promised to contribute up to a total of £7,000,000

towards loans of £34,000,000 raised by the States and Commonwealth for development and migration purposes. In this way we have shown a genuine desire to co-operate in the building up of the Australian nation.

That brings me to the next factor which also affects and to some extent limits the rate at which your population can be increased. Under modern conditions it is no use placing a settler in a new country unless he can sell the goods which he produces. Intimately connected, therefore, with the question of migration is the question of the market. That in its turn raises the difficult and complex issues of our whole trade and fiscal policy. In this matter there are here, as perhaps in every country, views and arguments of a conflicting nature. There is the Free Trade view, which says: "Develop certain lines that are natural and most easily developed and for all the rest depend upon the goods with which the world can supply you." There is the Protectionist view, which says: "Develop your resources all round, develop every industry that can flourish successfully on your territory, and then you will have, even for your most favoured lines, not only the uncertain market of the world, but a growing and certain home market upon which you can rely."

For each of these views there is a good deal to be said. In the first and earliest stages of a new country's development, it may be best to rely entirely on one or two favoured lines. But it seems to me also perfectly natural that as a country with varied resources develops, it should wish to have a varied scale of production, and not to rely on primary production alone, but also to build up great industries and a skilled industrial population. That seems to me to be a perfectly natural desire. It is one which each Dominion has followed, and in following it has only imitated the historic example of the Mother Country. In doing so, there are, however, certain factors that have to be considered. When it becomes a question of establishing a new industry, account has to be taken of the skill available in order to carry on that industry, the size of the market, and therefore

how far under modern conditions that industry can be effectively developed in that market—and last but not least the temporary effect which protecting that industry may have upon the export industries of the country. It all becomes a question of calculation and of balance, of what industries at any moment are most suitable for support, as least likely to interfere with the export trade, and most calculated to create a substantial new home market. There is also the further element of considering how many industries at any particular time can be added to the nation, when account is taken of the available skill and the available capital, the size of the home market, and of the possible effect of an accumulation of small additions to the cost of living upon primary production. It all seems to me to call for the laying out of a plan, for studying a scheme of development, seeing what industry can be added in each decade, rather than looking to Protection as an automatic solution of each and every problem at once.

I said just now that in this matter the Dominions are naturally following the history of the Old Country. That history is a very interesting one. When we go back to the Middle Ages, England practically produced only one great merchantable commodity—wool. The woollen industry of those days—the Bradford and Huddersfield of those days—was across the Channel in the Low Countries. Cities like Ypres, Courtrai and Bruges, which have become famous again in the last few years in a very different connection, were the great centres of industry to which England —the Australia of those days—sent its raw wool. There came a time in the course of the fourteenth century, still more definitely in the fifteenth century, when we said to ourselves that we might manufacture our own woollen cloth, and we took the appropriate fiscal measures to get woollen cloth manufactured in England. But for many years afterwards we had not that belief in our own skill in certain subsidiary and further industrial processes to attempt to dye or to finish the cloth in England. It was not till Queen Elizabeth's time that we definitely trans-

ferred the whole of the woollen industry from across the Channel to the shores of Great Britain. Having built up a woollen industry and developed a textile skill, we then about the same period developed the linen industry, and a century or more later, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, we made the even bolder experiment of trying to bring home to our shores a cotton industry. Our textile industry in effect was the result of a slow progressive growth extending all the time from the fourteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the same way in the fifteenth century we began to develop an iron and steel industry. When we found that the iron smelting in those days caused an excessive cutting down of the oak forests on which the Navy relied, we dropped our operations for a considerable period until smelting with coal came into use, and then fostered our industry again.

I need not go into the history of it all. All I wish to remind you of is that the growth of industry in Great Britain was a deliberate process, each new industry being added when previous developments had made the next step a pretty certain one. That, it seems to me, is also the kind of policy that may be wise in younger countries. I do not mean that the same period of centuries is required here as was required in England, but only the same careful selection of what you are going to decide to develop effectively. A progressive scheme of practical development is likely to lead to more effective results than any barren controversy between those who clamour for Free Trade on the one side and those who think that Protection of any and every industry must at once bring about industrial salvation.

There are in this matter many difficulties and many complications. I need not refer to some of the difficulties which were illustrated in the recent report of your own Tariff Board. There are measures of protection which may sometimes cut right across the general purpose of a protective policy. You have in Australia a survival of former State protectionism in railway systems which do not fit in with

each other, where different gauges and non-communicating lines, all once intended to protect a particular State, are to-day cutting off the industries of that very State from effective access to the rest of the home market of the Commonwealth. It may be too in a similar way—though naturally I am not in a position to judge—that such a measure as your Navigation Act may, in protecting one type of development, make it more difficult for the tariff generally to have its full effect in enabling the industries of one part of Australia to get an advantage over external competitors in other parts of Australia.

I mention these things, not as a critic of Australia's policy, but only to illustrate the complexity of the problem. Complex as it is, this much remains: to whatever extent Australia wishes to foster the home market, and through fostering it to build up her population, she must for many years be largely dependent, in certain great lines, not the least promising, of her development upon an outside market. In that respect her problem is the same as ours. When you look at the outside markets of the world, at the tariffs which shut the doors alike upon Australia and on Great Britain, and at the competition of lower wages and lower standards of labour in many parts of the world, it is inevitable that we should consider whether we could not combine some of the advantages of the wider trade outside which we both need, with some of the security and certainty of the home market, by pooling our markets together —making of the British Empire a wider home market, embracing and including the individual home markets of each of us. That is an object for which it is well worth while each of us making efforts and sacrifices.

I am not going to suggest that we could carry that policy the length that is sometimes advocated of complete inter-Imperial Free Trade and of a single tariff against the rest of the world. That is not practical politics. There is no political authority possible in the Empire to-day which could frame such a tariff. The conditions of living, of wages, of development in different parts of the Empire

are far too diverse to allow of that. But what we can do —and what, I believe from the point of view of Imperial development is just as good—is to see to it by an effective policy of mutual preference that, whatever our import trade is, it should in the first instance be given to the rest of the Empire. What matters from my point of view is not whether the policy of this or that part of the Empire is mainly Free Trade or mainly Protectionist, but whether, being a large purchaser, as it is bound to be, it uses that purchasing power to strengthen the rest of the Empire or dissipates it over the world at large.

I say "dissipates" because to my mind the essential difference between unco-ordinated individual trade on the part of the different Governments and nations of the Empire and co-ordinated and co-operative trade is this: when we each work separately, and buy anywhere and buy anyhow, most of that economic power is lost because it goes to nations who have no intention of buying back from us if they can help it. If, under a policy of co-operation, we keep our purchasing power within the Empire, then whatever purchasing power goes out to some other portion of the Empire comes back to us again if that portion pursues the same policy, and our economic development is continually sustained and intensified. It is the problem of the harnessing and co-ordinating of power instead of dissipating it. The steam in a kettle is wasted and can do nothing. The same steam, harnessed and controlled in the steam engine, is capable of immense power. To my mind the problem of the conservation of economic energy in the British Empire is exactly of the same character; and I believe that if only we can get together we can make such a use of the immense natural resources of the British Empire as will surprise ourselves and the world.

Now, in planning any policy of mutual support, of giving mutual shelter to each other in our markets, we must never lose sight of the essential condition of efficiency of production. The whole object, as I see it, either of Preference within the Empire or of protection in any one of our home

markets, is to give a fair handicap so as to get the best effort out of our own industries. The whole object of handicapping in a race is to get a good race, and in the same way the object of Preference or the object of Protection is, not to exclude competition, but so to adjust the weights as to get the best competition possible and so to give our own people a really fair chance of showing what is in them. It seems to me that that is essential from the point of view of what, after all, underlies all industrial development—the consideration of the standard of living of our people. Remove the incentive to real efficiency and the standard of living is bound to go down, because in the last resort the standard of living of the working man is only another way of expressing the standard of his output. A people can only consume what they produce, and a nation that does not produce efficiently, whatever nominal wages its workers may ask, cannot maintain in the long run a high standard of living.

What we believe—and it is the keystone, I believe, of Anglo-Saxon civilization—is that a high standard of living can be used to promote efficiency. But that standard itself can only be sustained by efficiency and good work. When I talk of efficiency and good work, I am certainly not thinking only of the working man. It is just as necessary for the organizer of labour, and it is just as necessary for the Governments themselves. We need the very highest efficiency in organization, we need the very highest efficiency in science and research in all its forms. In Australia there is a Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, and there is the Commission for Development and Migration for the purpose of studying your problems. That is an important step on the way to success, and in this matter, as in all others, Empire co-operation can be as effective as in every other aspect of this great problem. We are helping to-day, through the Empire Marketing Board, to create a system of co-operation in research throughout the Empire. We have just held an Empire Conference on agricultural research, and not a few institu-

tions both in Great Britain and in the Empire outside are carrying on this work in a score of different directions—all aiming at studying the problems which underly efficiency in production. In all these matters, the British Empire offers a wonderful opportunity for the exchange of ideas, for what in scientific language we might almost call cross-fertilization, using the minds of each of our communities to encourage, strengthen, and vivify the work done in others.

I do not know if I have made clear my conception of what is needed in order to achieve the object at which you aim, namely, a great population for Australia, but if I have not made it sufficiently clear I will sum it up in a sentence or two. What is needed in the first instance, are men of the right type, men willing to work and men helped to start work under the right conditions here. In addition to men, money is needed ; and in that matter as in the matter of men and in every other, we are willing to co-operate with you, and the more you co-operate with us in trade the more easy it will be for us to find the money needed for development and—if I may add a word of caution—money to be used wisely, because it is not always so easily got and, once wastefully spent, can never be used again. We need also markets, a well-developed, growing home market in each part of the Empire, and round them all, strengthening them all, combining them all, the wider market of the Empire as a whole. Last, but certainly not least, we need mind—the right ideas, the right vision, the consciousness of what Imperial co-operation means, the right attitude to scientific organization and scientific research. Men, Money, Markets, Mind—and then the Millions will come of themselves.

XVIII. SYDNEY UNIVERSITY, CONFERMENT OF M.A. DEGREE, SYDNEY.

November 17th, 1927

I have to thank you, Mr. Chancellor, as representing this great University, for the honour which Sydney has done me this morning. Wherever I have been in Australia I have been made at home, but you have to-day made me at home here in a special sense, in accepting me as a freeholder and a full citizen in the community of this great University. I can only recognize the high compliment which you have paid me by promising to be henceforth a loyal adopted son of Sydney, as I hope I always am of my own Alma Mater—Oxford—across the seas.

I have also to thank you personally, Mr. Chancellor, and you, Sir Montagu, for the kindly and generous terms in which you have referred to my present effort to contribute something to the maintenance of that personal intercourse upon which depends the free co-operation of our Empire partnership, and to the work that I may have been able to do in the past to promote Imperial unity in defence or trade. They are not the only aspects of Imperial unity. Three centuries ago, a writer, inspired with the vision of *Oceana*, as he termed it, of our sea-girt, sea-linked British Commonwealth, spoke of it as a "Commonwealth for Increase." I do not think that he meant thereby to confine himself merely to material increase, but rather that he was thinking also of that increase in the goods of the spirit without which mere material goods are but little worth pursuing. Australia has ever set before herself the ideals of a high standard of living and of reasonable hours of toil. Those would be but cheap ideals to pursue if the

conception of a high standard of living did not include that of a high standard of thinking and of feeling, and if leisure were not regarded, as the Greeks once regarded it, as, above all things, an opportunity for the exercise of the mind, whether in learning for its own sake or in public affairs.

It is therefore in a peculiar sense the task of the great Universities of Australia to give a true and worthy implication to the basic policy of this realm. It is for them to aim at creating in Australia a democracy, inspired, like that of ancient Athens, by a love of beauty in all the arts, by a thirst for knowledge in all the sciences, by the wisdom with which it can discern and support true statesmanship and reject the meaner and more selfish appeals which may beset it. In that task they have a great field before them. The virgin soil of Australia has proved in a peculiar measure responsive to the fruits and flocks of other Continents. It has proved no less responsive to the culture derived from the best thought of all lands, and more particularly of that Mother Land whose ancient Universities furnished the pattern upon which your Universities have been moulded, and built up the great traditions from which they have drawn their inspiration and with which they continue in fruitful contact.

Just as in matters of trade intercourse between the members of the Empire, stimulating and vivifying the development of each part, promotes the strength and unity of the whole fabric, so, too, in matters of the mind the contact and intercourse between our Universities, the exchange of teachers and students, constitute a mutually quickening and a unifying force. More than any other organization the Universities of the Empire are fitted to keep alive the true spirit of Empire, the spirit of freedom inspired by responsibility and by mutual affection. Like our territories, they circle the globe and can pass on, each to the other, ever burning more brightly, that torch of the spirit which is the true inner life of our Britannic Commonwealth.

XIX. EMPIRE PRESS UNION LUNCHEON, SYDNEY.

November 17th, 1927

Sir James Fairfax, and Gentlemen,—You have welcomed me here this afternoon in more than one capacity. You, Mr. Chairman, have in the first instance welcomed me as a fellow Balliol man. There is no satisfaction in the world equal to that which Balliol men feel when they meet each other and in the frankness of intimate confidence agree that they are not like other men, that they are indeed a superior people, combining all virtue and all knowledge in that "effortless superiority" of which Mr. Asquith once spoke! Seriously, I think we have some reason for being proud of a great institution which has inspired generation after generation of young men with the idea that it was their task to go out into the world in order, to quote the old phrase, "to serve God in Church and State."

You have also welcomed me in another capacity, as member of yet another brotherhood, no less conscious of its superiority to the outside world, more particularly to the world of mere politicians, I mean the brotherhood of the Press. I know that since I deserted the Press for politics, or rather since I have given myself to working at the same tasks in a slightly different medium, I have never felt quite that same impregnable conviction of being always right, or that same sense that when I say things should be done they must really happen, as I used to enjoy when I had written a good leader. And if I have in one sense ceased to be a journalist, sitting on a hard chair at night, and become, as you suggested, a feather-bed politician, I do not feel that I have ever lost touch with the old fraternity: indeed the occasion might yet arise when, if the electorate were ungrateful enough,

I should have to look to some editor to help me to earn a precarious living!

I have many recollections that link me with the Empire Press Union. I took a keen part in the first and very memorable gathering of the Empire Press Conference in London in 1909 out of which the Empire Press Union sprang. That Conference afforded an opportunity for a first-hand interchange of views on the great problems that were already darkening the European horizon, and the men who, like yourself, Sir James, took part in that Conference did not a little, when the sudden critical moment came in 1914, to educate their countrymen in every part of the Empire as to the true meaning and origin of what was then taking place so swiftly. We have had other Press Conferences and meetings of the Union since then. There was one not so long ago in Australia which certainly helped a great deal to make the British Press and British public understand better both the problems of Australia itself, and also the whole problem of our inter-Empire relationship of which Mr. Russell spoke. On that theme I do not think I need say more than this: Mr. Russell put his finger on the very heart of the matter when he referred to the colonists who "went out from your midst not in order to be inferior to you but to remain equal." It has been of the essence of British freedom in its more recent development that it has never denied equality as between Britons in the Old Country and Britons in any other part of the Empire. It was the inability to see that issue clearly on either side that led to the disaster of the great American secession. It was the consciousness of it which underlay the building up of free responsible self-government in the Empire in the generations which followed.

In that development no fixed or arbitrary limit was ever set to the scope of self-government in the Colonies or, as they afterwards became, the Dominions. It was realized that, as a matter of convenience, certain functions and powers would continue to be carried on by the Mother Country. It was also realized that ultimately those powers must be

carried on equally, whether through some form of Federation or through some wholly new device of political co-operation. Imperial Federation has often been discussed. I agree with Mr. Russell that if it had been carried out at any stage in the past, it would probably have been found to be fettering, cramping and unworkable within a generation. I think we may have been wiser in developing on an entirely new line, in working out logically the principle of freedom to that complete conclusion which we reached at the late Imperial Conference, namely, that all the Governments of the Empire—I am referring for the moment to the Dominion Governments—are equal in status, equally free, in so far as they desire it, to exercise every power or function of national self-government. For, concurrently with that development of freedom, there has developed an ever-growing consciousness of the essential unity that binds us all together. We are all as free, as equal, as any mere body of Allies might be. And yet, though in one sense an alliance, we are also a great deal more than an alliance. "Alliance" suggests the possibility of eventual separation, and implies that the union is one of convenience for some definite external end, such as security. But we within the British Empire are bound together in a unity which, while it imposes no restraint on any one of its members, is a very real, a living, an organic thing. That organic unity was referred to in the Conclusions of the Imperial Conference as the unity of the common Crown to which we all owe allegiance.

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Let me give you a parallel from the physical world. You are familiar with the conception, now possibly a little out of date, of an ether at once infinitely elastic, so that the atoms and molecules of matter can move in it with absolute freedom, and yet rigid enough to transmit without loss or delay the impulses of light or heat or electricity. So it is within our Commonwealth. Each of its States lives and moves in absolute freedom. But it does so in an impalpable medium of common ideals, common traditions, common

interests, a common political faith, capable of transmitting a single impulse instantaneously through the whole, and of enabling the whole to act, if required, with the power and momentum of a single solid body. The opening days of the Great War showed that no elaborate negotiations as between allies were required to set the Empire in motion. The moment the War came every nation in the Empire was in action—one common thought flashed through us all and inspired us all the moment we realized that the fabric of the Empire as a whole was in danger.

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You may ask if I have anything to say to you as to your own problems in Australia itself. Naturally, it is not for me to intervene either in your party discussions or even in those economic controversies, whether on labour conditions or tariff matters, which are inevitably linked up with your party issues. The only thing I would say to you is this: the narrower the angle from which you look at these problems, the greater will be the bitterness of controversy and the more intense the spirit of partisanship, and the less will be the prospect of either side finding a true solution. The wider the angle, the bigger the perspective, the more likely are the men of good will on both sides to arrive at common and satisfactory conclusions. The angle from which I think all Australian problems should be approached is, not that of the position of Australia to-day, but of Australia as she might become, as she ought to become, and as I think she must become. Here, on this ever contracting planet lies this great Island Continent, with its immense undeveloped resources, with a New World to one side of her already becoming in some measure an old world, and on the other side of her an ancient world, which is being transformed very rapidly into a new world. You here have a great destiny to fulfil. If you have decided to keep this continent for your own race, I cannot imagine that you have done so merely from a negative point of view, from the same attitude of mind that has inspired the priests of Tibet to keep their mountain fastnesses in

seclusion to themselves, but rather because you believe that it is in this way that Australia can most effectively build up a great nation, great not only in numbers or in wealth, but in moral force, in science, in art, in everything that makes for the greatness of nations: so that from this centre she may exercise her influence upon the world outside, playing her part as one of the Trustees of the British Commonwealth, and in so doing also playing a worthy part in shaping the future of Mankind.

NEW ZEALAND

XX. AUCKLAND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE LUNCHEON.

NOVEMBER 22ND, 1927

Sir Francis Bell has introduced me as the legitimate successor, after many years, of the Colonial Secretary who first instructed Captain Hobson to make a beginning with New Zealand. I never knew before that Hobson's choice, which is usually described as a choice between two unpleasant alternatives, could be so happy as the choice which led Captain Hobson to select as his headquarters Auckland, then a small settlement but to-day a great and beautiful city of which not only New Zealand but the whole Empire can feel proud. He suggested that I should speak frankly and say exactly what I think on every subject. I am not sure whether that included an invitation to give my views on the subject of Prohibition: if so, I must decline.

I will confine myself to what you, Mr. Chairman, described as the new era of co-operation which is beginning in the British Empire and more particularly to that part which deals with co-operation in trade. The idea of co-operation in Empire trade is one which was the very basis of Imperial policy in other centuries. Under that policy, carried out no doubt according to the methods of the day, we built up mighty colonies across the Atlantic. Those colonies broke away from us, and the fact of their separation, the differences, possibly exaggerated on both sides, which led to separation, have sometimes obscured the enormous progress made by those colonies, under a policy of mutual trade with Great Britain, in a comparatively short time and despite all the conditions of difficulty which attended oceanic intercourse in those days. It was a very remarkable development. In more recent generations we

took the view that while we might have a duty to defend British possessions, our duty stopped short in the economic sphere; that our business was to trade where and as we liked, and that it made no difference to Great Britain, or indeed to the Empire, whether we traded with each other or whether each of us traded with the outside world.

The change of view on this question came first of all from the Dominions. For the last forty years the conception of building up the Empire by inter-Imperial trade has been voiced by Empire statesmen—men like Richard Seddon here, Cecil Rhodes in South Africa, Macdonald in Canada, Deakin in Australia. All voiced that point of view, and more than voiced it; when they found that the Mother Country would not listen they determined to make a beginning without waiting for reciprocity from her. The first preferential treaty within the Empire was, I believe, the treaty between New Zealand and South Australia which was ratified immediately after the Ottawa Conference of 1894. Shortly afterwards Canada gave a fresh lead by giving preference to the Empire, including Great Britain, without reciprocity, and further measures of preference were developed in every part of the Dominions in the years that preceded the War. But it was the War that really created the big change in our mentality everywhere. The immense effort which we were able to achieve in co-operation, the sense of brotherhood created by the War, has caused us all to look upon this problem, both in the Dominions and in Great Britain, with a very different eye from what we did in pre-War years. The sentiment in favour of Empire trade, even where it has been coupled with a strong sentiment in favour of the protection of domestic industries, has grown stronger in every part of the Empire outside. It has grown too in a very remarkable way in Great Britain.

Take, first of all, the Empire outside. With one exception, South Africa, where the preferences have in some respects been reduced, every great British Dominion has increased its preferences to the Mother Country since the

War. Many treaties of mutual preference, for instance those linking Australia with Canada or Canada with the West Indies, have also been developed since the War—all helping towards a common intercourse of trade within the Empire and the mutual stimulation by each part of the growth of the other. In this field no Dominion has given a more remarkable lead than New Zealand. New Zealand to-day, as a result of her recent tariff changes, gives to Great Britain the greatest measure of preference, I think, that is given by any Dominion. In textile goods, machinery, electrical goods, hosiery, hardware, you are now giving us a measure of preference that ought to be of immense value to our hard-pressed industries at home, and which I know will be deeply appreciated by the people of Great Britain. I believe that the money value of those preferences in additional trade ought to be something like £2,000,000 a year above the trade we have been doing. In motor-cars, too, you give us a very substantial advantage, thanks to which I understand that our percentage of cars is steadily creeping up, and we are beginning to make good that tremendous leeway which was forced inevitably upon us when the War turned all our industries to war purposes and left the field open to others. We appreciate what you are doing. We realize fully that New Zealand buys more from Great Britain than any other country in the world, per head of population, and, even with less than 1,500,000 people is a better customer than many of the biggest nations in the world.

I think I can claim that we, too, in Great Britain, are beginning to deal with this problem in a very different spirit from that in which we dealt with it in past years. We have entirely got away as a nation from the point of view that it makes no difference to us whether we trade with foreigners or trade with our fellow-subjects and fellow-citizens in the Empire. On that broad general proposition one may say that Britain to-day is practically unanimous. We do believe in the value of Empire trade. We realize that it is the best part of our trade, that it is the most expand-

ing part of our trade and that it is a trade which, whatever encouragement we give to Empire production in our market, is met, instantaneously almost, in the encouragement given to our production in the Empire; that the elements of true reciprocity exist in the Empire market to a degree which cannot be equalled in our economic relationship with any country, however friendly, in the outside world.

During the War that recognition led to an Imperial Conference for the first time unanimously resolving—Great Britain not standing apart—that whatever duties may be levied by any part of the Empire, those duties should be levied at a lower rate for the produce of the rest of the Empire. Within the limits of what, I admit, is a very narrow fiscal system, we have given effect—and I think generous effect—to that pledge. We give to-day preferences on a considerable list of articles—I might mention sugar, tobacco, wine, dried fruits, tea, coffee and cocoa—which, while they may not be of direct interest to New Zealand, have been of very great value to other parts of the Empire. In these last few months, travelling through South Africa and Australia, I have seen with my own eyes the development, the building up, of new communities, the influx of settlers, made possible by British preference, and certainly, though I myself have preached that doctrine for thirty years or more in the Old Country, I have felt immensely encouraged by what I have seen to go home and preach with even greater conviction than before to my own fellow-countrymen the need for embodying that policy on a wider scale.

Meanwhile, we have not neglected other means of developing Imperial trade. Sir Francis Bell referred to the big fish I was able to land when I obtained the concurrence of my colleagues in the expenditure of £1,000,000 a year on the promotion of Empire marketing in Great Britain. That money gives reality and effect to another Imperial institution established in recent years—I mean the Imperial Economic Committee. That body, on which every Govern-

ment of the Empire is equally represented and which reports to all the Governments, is an advisory body which studies the whole problem of Empire marketing in Great Britain and suggests ways and means by which Empire trade may be increased. But it is a purely advisory body and, as such, has no funds at its disposal and no executive power to carry out its recommendations. The Empire Marketing Board, which has been set up since under my chairmanship, has power to do things, and above all has the wherewithal. We are carrying out in the main the recommendations of the Imperial Economic Committee, and I think carrying them out with some measure of success.

Those recommendations cover a wide field. In the first report of the Imperial Economic Committee it was suggested that there were three main lines along which Empire marketing could be helped: The first was effective publicity in Great Britain; the second was the promotion of research as the basis of efficient production; and the third was the improvement of the whole organization of marketing. In fact the whole long line between the producer at one end and the consumer at the other. We have set ourselves to dealing with that three-fold problem. We have, in the first instance, spent very considerable sums on what is in effect an entirely new form of publicity. We have advertised all over Great Britain on a very big scale, not particular articles but a particular idea—the idea of Empire trade. We have pointed out, through a variety of illustrations, that it is a better thing for the people in the Old Country to buy from those who are likely to trade with them in return, as New Zealand is, rather than to buy from those who shut their doors upon them. We have endeavoured to bring home to the public the essential facts, that the goods are there, both at a reasonable price and of good quality—because, believe me, neither by fiscal preference nor by publicity will you ever get the British consumer to buy a bad article at a high price; you have got to produce the right stuff, of the right quality, at a reasonable

price. But given that, we can undoubtedly do a great deal to help.

Trade, as every business man knows, has its elements of custom and habit, of prejudice and lack of inquisitiveness, like every other domain of life. One of the troubles at home is that so many avenues of trade have been habitually filled up with the production of this or that foreign country when equally good supplies could have been got from the Empire if either the wholesaler or the retailer, or the customer, had been sufficiently aware of it. We are arousing a continuous curiosity on this point. We are arranging Empire shopping weeks, and in this way and through a variety of other devices are inducing the customer to get into the habit of asking when he or she—and "she" is the most important person in this matter—goes into a shop, "Where does this come from? Does it come from within the British Empire or not?" The effect of even a few inquiries addressed to the retailer undoubtedly is to make him put inquiries to the wholesaler; and in a very short time may lead to a very considerable change in trade. I inquired of the manager of one retail firm which has made a speciality of pushing Empire goods, whether in fact their efforts had had much result. He said, "Take canned fruit and fish and canned produce. We used to sell 5 per cent. of Empire produce five years ago: we are selling 55 per cent. to-day." This shows the extent to which trade can be developed. I believe every part of the Empire has felt that influence during the last year or so, when we have been at work following up the great effect which Wembley undoubtedly had upon the minds of our people. That is one aspect of our work.

Another deals with the whole problem of getting goods across the seas. That falls into a whole series of investigations, investigations into waste or the causes of damage or injury on the voyage. You know yourselves how the discovery of cold storage has been the very foundation of New Zealand's prosperity in the last thirty or forty years. But we have not by any means reached the end of our

knowledge of cold storage. There is a tremendous range to be studied—as to what temperature is precisely the right one for every article, what degree of ventilation is required, what initial temperature is required in the freezing or chilling, what temperature during the voyage itself, what method of thawing—on all these matters we still have a great deal to learn and we are learning every day. Through the Empire Marketing Board we have placed very considerable sums at the disposal of the Cold Storage Research Laboratory at Cambridge. We have given £35,000 towards the enlargement and rebuilding of the Laboratory and are giving £15,000 or more a year towards the cost of current work. I mention that as one instance of the various ways in which we are helping to deal with the problem of handling produce in transit.

Then comes the even wider problem of improving production. It would take far too long for me to attempt to give you anything like a full account of our various activities. But I might select one or two typical ones. For instance, one investigation of immense importance is the investigation into the mineral contents of the soil on which the stock is fed. Evidence has reached us from almost every part of the Empire that there are pastures apparently admirable in every way which, somehow or other, do not properly nourish stock, that the animals themselves fail to keep in good condition, or that they become infertile or become easily liable to certain diseases; and in almost every case the evidence goes to show that this is due to the absence of some minute proportion of iodine, or iron, or phosphorus in one form or another, or of some other mineral. We are now conducting investigations in co-operation with other Governments and Institutions in East Africa, in Rhodesia, in South Australia and at home in Scotland, all aiming at finding out where the deficiency is and how it can best be made good. There is no doubt that if we solve that problem—it may only cost a few tens of thousand pounds to solve it—we shall be adding millions, perhaps tens of millions, to the value of

the Empire's production, and putting that money into the pockets of the farmers of the Empire.

Let me take another problem—the problem of insect pests. It is reckoned that fully 10 per cent. of the Empire's crops are destroyed every year by insect pests. The problem of how to deal with them is an immensely fascinating one. One of its solutions lies in finding insects which will prey upon other insects and so prevent them spreading. We had a curious and interesting illustration of that quite recently in studying the development of grub in dried fruit from Australia. We sent out investigators to see where the grub could get in at the Australian end, and we found that every difficulty had been met there and in transit. We then came across the source of infection at the store shed and found that the difficulty lay in the wire gauze surrounding the electric lights in the store sheds. Apparently, the grub is laid by a small moth or insect which has a smaller insect preying upon it and keeping down its numbers. The gauze happened to be of such a size that the smaller insect flew through it but the moth was saved from suicide by the gauze. A wider mesh will now enable both to commit suicide; and the expenditure of a few hundred pounds on research may make all the difference to the dried fruit production in the Empire.

Then there is the question of insects that may be beneficial for the purpose of destroying noxious plants. You have heard, no doubt, of what the cochineal insect can do to check the ravages of the prickly pear in Queensland. You have to deal in Zealand with the blackberry and other noxious weeds, and at this moment we are co-operating, both by providing funds and by the establishment of what I can only describe as an insect Zoo in Great Britain, with the very important research work which has been done under Dr. Tillyard at the Cawthron Institute in Nelson. There is a case where we have proceeded on a principle which appeals to us—that is, of helping those who help themselves. You have there an Institution which is doing valuable research work on Empire production, and so we

are the more disposed to come in with our funds and to help that work to be carried further. I hope to have the privilege of opening in a few weeks' time the new Insectary at Nelson.

Another way in which we are working is in helping to develop the quality of the studs of the Empire. I need not tell an audience in the North Island what is meant by improving dairy herds and increasing the yield of butter fat. All that comes about by a progressive study in the selection of the best breeding stocks, and I think that we in the Old Country can still claim to be the best breeders in the world. There have been a good many difficulties in recent years in getting good pedigree stock out of Great Britain owing to the prevalence of foot-and-mouth disease, and also in part owing to the actual cost. We have established a quarantine station, and hope to establish several more, by which any importer of pedigree stock from Great Britain, as well as the Governments of the Dominions, can be absolutely certain that the animal is free from all possibility of infection. We have also undertaken, up to £50,000, to go 50/50 with any Government or recognized authority which is working for the general agricultural interest and not merely for its own profit, in reducing the cost of carriage of pedigree stock. We think that in that way we can very substantially help the dairy farmers, and indeed every type of farmer throughout the Empire.

I have given these indications to show that we are not indifferent to Empire trade in Great Britain, and that we do believe in the development of that trade. I am convinced that, having the vision of Empire trade before us, though as a people we may be slow to move, we shall not let any old traditions or theories stand in the way of our steadily developing a policy of mutual co-operation in building up the strength of the peoples of the Empire. Once we are all seized with that vision and effectively work together, I would not set any limit to the prosperity that we can achieve. After all, the British Empire, embracing a fifth of the world and nearly a quarter of its population,

has resources for the creation of wealth and for laying the foundations of human welfare that are absolutely beyond computation. All that is needed is that the different parts of the Empire, instead of working in watertight compartments, instead of dissipating the energizing power of their markets all over the world—I am talking in these matters of a policy which need not exclude a generous measure of trade with the outside world—should, at any rate in the first instance, direct their main effort to trading with each other and creating a system of trade whose volume will, by continuous natural stimulation increase not in an arithmetical but in a geometrical ratio.

It is not merely a question of showing friendly sentiment to different parts of the Empire by trading with them rather than with others. The real essence of the matter lies in this: that, by dealing with those who deal with you, you so apply the power of your market that it comes back to you again, making the whole Empire as it were your wider home market. Then each part of the Empire can develop most freely along the lines which are most paying, most suited to its natural resources, and can obtain the most rapid development and the greatest building up of national strength. I know that any such scheme as absolute free trade in the Empire, with a single tariff for the Empire, is not practical politics ;—the conditions are far too different to make that possible. But pursuing the policy which is best from the point of view of its own people, each part of the Empire can yet enormously add to its own well-being by a policy of co-operation and natural preference.

That, to me, is the great conception of the future. We have seen such a policy carried out on a scale, immense in itself, in the United States—I say "immense in itself" but small compared with the scale on which we could carry it out in the British Empire. We could, with our wonderfully varied resources, build up a development, a degree of prosperity, which has never yet been seen in the world before. We can set an example of co-operative enterprise to the whole world which may some day be followed by a

closer economic organization of mankind at large, just as our political structure in the Empire has been not without its influence on international politics outside. But, at any rate, the immediate task for our generation, as I see it, is the building up of our own Commonwealth for the development of its own immense resources, and to do that for the security of the whole, for the well-being of all its peoples, and also to enable us to play our part in the general conduct of the affairs of Mankind.

XXI. CIVIC RECEPTION, WELLINGTON.

November 28th, 1927

Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—While I was listening to the eloquent speeches which have just been delivered, and while I was looking at this great and representative gathering, I could not help thinking all the time of the welcome which the first band of settlers found awaiting them here on the shores of New Zealand barely eighty years ago. No great cities with their municipal institutions, no great public hall, like this, but dense bush extending almost to the very foreshore over the whole of this Island and the great part of the South Island, fierce, warlike natives with whom your fathers had to wage many a stubborn contest before they found a way to an honourable peace, a peace creditable to both sides which left the original inhabitants of the country, not outcasts or helots, but an integral and equal element in your community.

When I think of those early days, of what your predecessors, the pioneers, had to encounter in their contest with man and Nature barely eighty years ago, and then think of what I have seen during the past week—your great and prosperous cities provided with everything that is reckoned in the Old World as most advanced in social standards, with their care for child welfare, their hospitals, their lighting and sanitation, their parks, with all the equipment of modern civic life; your smiling countryside with its good roads, its railways, electric power distributed over large areas to almost every farm—when I think of all these things, when I think of what New Zealand already stands for in the commerce of the world as one of the largest producers of some of the world's most necessary primary

products, when I think, last but not least, of that great army of valiant youth that went out from New Zealand only a few years ago to fight for the cause of the British Empire and of justice on many a battlefield in the Old World, and then remind myself that all this has come about within the space of eighty years, my first impression is one of deep amazement. And then I remember—and it explains all—that the people of New Zealand, in one sense so young, are also the heirs of a great tradition, the finest in the world, the descendants of the hardy pioneers who first conquered and colonized the British Isles, heirs of the men who drew up Magna Charta, heirs of Drake and Raleigh, of Nelson and Wellington, of warriors, statesmen, explorers, sages and poets unnumbered. New Zealand is what she is because she is at one and the same moment young and yet deeply imbued with a mighty tradition going back to the centuries of the past.

If that is true of New Zealand, it is also true of each of the great Dominions that I have had the privilege of visiting during these months. In each of them men, steeped in a great tradition and with a great heritage behind them, have gone out into a new world to shape a new nation in a new environment. Believe me, the same is true of the Old Country as well. Those of your kinsmen who stayed in the Old Country may not have changed their immediate surroundings. But the conditions with which they have had to deal have changed, within and without. They, too, live in a new world. And they have shown, no less than you, their power of adapting themselves to new circumstances and new developments, their power of meeting a great crisis like the War, with all the stubbornness for which they have been famed in history, but also with an inventiveness, an initiative and a power of expansion with which their enemies never credited them.

If it is true of each of us that we are young, as well as heirs of the past, it is true even more of the British Empire as a whole. The British Empire, as it exists to-day, is the youngest thing in the world. Its very beginnings in

one sense hardly go back more than a century. What was there of the British Empire of to-day a century ago? In Canada there was a nucleus of French settlers on the St. Lawrence, and side by side with them a handful of sturdy Loyalists, who had refused to abandon the old Flag, and who were laboriously carving out their primitive homes in the forest wilderness of Ontario or New Brunswick. In Australia, a few settlements dotted here and there on the coast. New Zealand was undreamt of. In Africa, one or two trading stations on the West Coast and a small settlement bought from the Dutch at the Cape, but none of that great Empire of British Africa—West, South and East—which exists to-day. Even in India there was only the beginning, under the old Company, of the mighty Indian Empire of to-day, with its 330,000,000 of people. The whole British Empire is a new thing, full of the spirit of youth and full of infinite possibilities for the future. It has come to the position it occupies to-day because it is an Empire based on freedom. No other political device could ever have held it together during the last century. It was developed by encouraging the freedom, the individuality of each of its members. The justification of that policy was shown in the Great War, when our men came, unsummoned, unhesitating, unquestioning, from all the ends of the earth. That freedom received its final confirmation at the last Imperial Conference.

The question that we ask ourselves to-day, facing a new era in the world's history and in the life of the British Empire, is: What use are we to make of that freedom? Are we to use it each to follow our own selfish course regardless of the interests of the rest, regardless of any responsibility we owe to each other and, through each other, to the world at large? I believe that in every part of the Empire that question would be answered by an unhesitating "No." In every part of the Empire there is to-day both a consciousness of the practical interest we have in working together and a belief that the moral obligations which each nation owes to the outside world can, for each of us, be

discharged best by mutual co-operation and by maintaining the British Empire—the British Commonwealth—as the greatest factor for good that the world has yet known. A century of building up freedom has been completed; a century of effective co-operation is now before us. We have learned that that co-operation can be exercised for our common security, but to-day we are all of us thinking far less of the needs of defence (though we can never ignore them) than of the need for the creative and fruitful tasks of peace. In that creative and fruitful work we can do infinitely more if we pool our resources, if we balance what is unbalanced in the resources of each, and match it with the resources of the other. If we in the Old Country can bring our accumulated capital, our accumulated experience, our abounding store of the finest manhood in the world, to help you, with your boundless natural resources crying out for more hands to develop them, for more capital to speed up that development, then assuredly there ought to be no limit to the rate of our common progress.

That, it seems to me, is the foundation on which we can build up a common system of mutual development—not a system limiting the freedom of each part of the Empire to frame its own economic life as it wishes and as it thinks best in its own interests, not limiting either its fiscal freedom or its freedom to shape the constitution of its own community as it knows best how to do, but a system of co-operation which, while accepting these underlying factors of the problem, brings together our resources and the quickening power of our markets, brings together and distributes wisely the energy of our peoples, and uses all for the common good and for the greatest good of all. That is the foundation, but it is only a foundation, because wealth, after all, is not a thing to be desired for its own sake. Trade and development are only the means to greater ends, and the greater ends are the building up of the life of our peoples, the building up of the standard of welfare in every class of our community, the making life more beautiful, more interesting, more varied, happier for great sections

of the community who, under the conditions of the past, have known little but drudgery and have lived shut in by a limited, bleak horizon.

When I say "our peoples," I am thinking not only of the peoples of our own stock, but of every race and community that lives under the British Flag. For all of them we have to raise the level of the base of their social pyramid; for all of them we have to build upon that higher level the first beginnings of political freedom and responsibility; for all of them our task is to bring new richness of life, in culture, in science, in art, in everything that makes human life worth living. Nor does our responsibility end there. Our first obligation is towards our own peoples, for their peace, prosperity and progress. But a Commonwealth like ours, scattered over the whole globe, everywhere in contact with the outside world, trading with it, negotiating with it, can never be indifferent or irresponsible towards the general peace of the world or the progress of mankind. It seems to me that whether men and women who live in the British Empire are interested in social reform at one end of the scale or in the peace of the world at the other, whatever view they take, the best practical means they can adopt towards realizing their ideals is to work for the unity and strength and prosperity of our British Commonwealth.

That is the task before our generation, to get together and to work together, and develop our resources, but so to develop them as to remember that the greatest resources of all are our human resources—the men and women that are going to make up the Empire in future years. If we are to do that successfully, then I agree with you, Mr. Mayor, that we must get into personal contact with each other and understand each other. Our partnership in the Empire is based, not on any centralized control, but on understanding, on sympathy, on a common political faith and common ideals, on all those things which for all of us are summed up in the common Crown which unites us, the common Flag which flies over us. We can each do our part by

always keeping the rest of the Empire in mind, by training ourselves in the wider view, and if we are unable to leave our own part of the Empire, we can, at any rate, try to learn what we can about our fellow-citizens across the seas. If they come to our shores we can welcome them, as you have so generously welcomed me to-day, and as I hope you also welcome every other Britisher who comes to these shores, whatever his walk in life is—whether he be a visitor wishing to learn something of your affairs, or one who wishes to come and settle in your midst and share your citizenship and help to build up the life of New Zealand. For those of us who are engaged in public affairs, I am convinced that there can be no task above that of endeavouring to understand something of our own Empire, and, in so far as opportunity allows, of going to see that Empire for ourselves. It is because I have wished to do justice to that task and to the Office which I have the honour to hold, that I have endeavoured, both before I reached it and now that I hold it, to learn for myself, to see with my own eyes, to hear with my own ears, above all to understand what a great community like yours thinks and feels and what it believes it can do, and what its resources are, and of how we on our side can help you to achieve your ideals, as you, I think, on your side are helping us to achieve our ideals, and to keep the British Empire ever young. It is in that spirit that I started on this long voyage, and I shall go back immensely refreshed, immensely strengthened in my faith that our future lies in co-operation.

XXII. GOVERNMENT
LUNCHEON, WELLINGTON.

November 29th, 1927

I thank you, Mr. Prime Minister, in the first instance, and your Government for giving me an opportunity of meeting such a representative gathering of the leading men of this capital city and of the whole Dominion. As you have reminded us, the personal element enters into all our relationships, and it was in the hope of contributing my part to the strengthening of those personal bonds that hold the Empire together, that I have set forth on this long voyage round the Dominions, which is also a voyage round the world.

In the transaction of the affairs of the Empire we exchange telegrams and we exchange despatches; we meet from time to time in person at Imperial Conferences. But it seemed to me that there was also room for a less formal kind of conference—that informal personal conference which could come about if you and I, Mr. Prime Minister, discussed current business in arm-chairs on opposite sides of the same fire, instead of by long despatches. The cabled despatch is so often susceptible of misunderstandings which never arise when two men, who have got the same cause at heart, meet each other face to face or talk across the same table. While Imperial Conferences only bring a few Ministers together, I have felt that a journey such as I have undertaken would give me an opportunity of meeting a far wider range of my fellow-citizens, not only members of different Governments or leaders of Oppositions, but all the various types of men and women whom I have been privileged to come across in these last few months. It is from that point of view—from the point of view of being

able to understand the desires, the hopes, the ideals of my fellow-citizens in each Dominion—that I have set forth on this journey, from which I hope to return with a better understanding and, if it were possible, a keener goodwill towards all who live under our common flag and who have worked each in their different sphere for the common cause that unites us all.

You referred, Mr. Prime Minister, to our last meeting at the Imperial Conference which was held last year. That was a conference which marks a memorable epoch in the political development of the British Empire. It marks the end of one era—an era in which British freedom was inaugurated throughout all the wide territories of the Dominions and developed to its fullest extent—and the beginning of a new era which, taking our equal freedom for granted, is to lay the foundations of an ever closer and more effective co-operation. The proceedings at that Conference will, I understand, be more fully discussed among yourselves in Parliament. I shall not attempt to trespass upon such statements as the Prime Minister may wish to make on those matters. But I should like to say a few words as to the general character of the constitutional conclusions at which we arrived.

Those conclusions had both their negative and their positive aspect. The negative aspect was that Great Britain, in unison with all her partner Dominions, disclaimed any idea that she regarded them as in any respect her inferiors or her subordinates: she regarded them as equal partners to whom she denied, as a matter of right, no power, no function of national life, no privilege. There is no predominance, no exclusive prerogative, which Britain claims as of right against her partners in the Dominions; nothing that could suggest that British citizenship in any Dominion is an inferior sort of citizenship, a more limited sort of citizenship, than that which is enjoyed by British citizens in the Old Country. That was the negative aspect of our conclusions—in many Dominions an aspect of no little importance because it helped to clear away misunder-

standings and grounds of controversy. New Zealand, I fancy, has never worried her soul very much about her exact status or the exact nature of her rights as against the Mother Country. She has been less concerned with the theoretical and negative definition of her position than with the practical and positive question of her privileges and her duties as a member of the British Commonwealth.

The conclusions at that Conference were, however, positive as well as negative. The first positive conclusion, accepted by all, and accepted whole-heartedly by all, was that our equality of status was one of unity under a common Crown. We are equal but we are united; the same Crown binds us all together; binds us because it makes us all fellow-subjects and because it implies common loyalties, common ideals, common political conceptions, common interests. We are, under the Crown, one indissoluble body corporate, all subjects of that Crown, bound to each other by reason of the fact that we are bound in loyalty to that Crown. We are organized, it is true, in separate communities. Each of those communities, at any rate so far as the great self-governing communities are concerned, is free to act according to its own judgment, and without control or dictation from without. But not without control or dictation from within, for in each of those Governments the common Crown, which stands for our unity, is an essential factor and serves to remind us that, while in all our actions we are free to do what we please, we are also bound by the moral law of our being to do that which makes for the common good, the security, the unity and welfare of the whole. If, therefore, the late Imperial Conference laid stress upon the equality, upon the nationhood, of the Dominions, it was not an equality in separation, but an equality in co-operation. It was nationhood, not in the sense of isolation, of separatism, of a selfish regard for a purely local interest, but of growth in stature and responsibility. It emphasized that each of the Dominions is, like Britain herself, an Imperial nation, a responsible partner conscious of its wider obligations

and wider interests as well as of the fulness and richness of its own individual life. We are all to-day trustees, not only of our own particular portion of the Empire, but for the Empire as a whole. It is a joint and several trusteeship we bear, and as Imperial nations we each play our part according to our capacity, according to our opportunity, according to the bent of our genius, in the common task.

New Zealand, certainly, has never done otherwise than recognize that Imperial responsibility. She recognized it by her unexampled effort in the Great War; she has recognized it since by the readiness with which she has undertaken the responsibilities of an Imperial mandatory, with which she has undertaken responsibilities in Antarctic regions; she has shown it in her readiness to contribute —and contribute generously—to the common defence both in her own naval development and in what she has recently decided to do towards pushing forward the base at Singapore. The whole conception of that base, I might add, is concerned not with aggression towards any other Power, nor even with fear of any other Power, but with the conviction that the different Navies of the Empire must be able to get together and work together. It was as an act of co-operation for the common defence, and not as an act either of menace or of fear that that project was conceived. New Zealand has shown it again in the generous preferences she has given since the War, and extended even further in the last few months. Believe me, what she has done is deeply appreciated in the Old Country and is, I imagine, not without its influence upon all our fellow-members in the partnership of Empire. That is one of the positive aspects arising from the last Conference, namely, that we are all equally responsible for the Empire. It is no longer a position where Great Britain alone watches over the common interests and the Dominions attend purely to local affairs. Acting in the light of our own judgment, and within the limit of our own capacity, we are each of us responsible for the common welfare.

There is another positive aspect to those conclusions of ours. While, as a matter of right, no function, no power, was denied to any Dominion, it was equally agreed that in a partnership like ours there was no need for duplicating effort; that if one of the partners could most effectively carry on certain functions of Empire, it was a natural and proper thing that they should be carried on by that partner; that if Great Britain possessed a long tradition of experience in foreign affairs and world-wide machinery for the effective conduct of those affairs, and the willingness to conduct those affairs not from the point of view of a merely British interest, but from the point of view of the Empire as a whole, and in consultation with the Empire at every stage, there was no reason why that function, or any other function of common interest, should not continue to be carried on by Great Britain. The Conference, if I may put it so, did not represent on the part of Great Britain any abdication of her leadership in the Empire, though it represented her willing acceptance of the view that she is only qualified to continue that leadership in so far as she exercises it in a truly Imperial spirit and in so far as her exercise of it is to the advantage of, and meets with the approval of, her partner members.

Is Great Britain still fit to be a leader in the partnership of Empire? I venture to suggest that the evidence of the last few years, at any rate, does not condemn her, or should not condemn her, in the eyes of her partners. There were those who, before the War, had doubts as to whether Britain still possessed the old hard, stubborn temper which had brought her triumphantly through long struggles in her history, as to whether she still had the initiative, the enterprise, the readiness to make great sacrifices that she had in the past. She dissipated those doubts as the sun dissipates the morning mists. The Old Country showed that in the War, in the greatest struggle that has ever taken place in history, she was the mainstay and the material and spiritual foundation of the whole Alliance. On the unbreakable strength of her Navy rested the whole conduct

of Allied affairs. From the first day that she entered the struggle Germany's fate was sealed, because round Germany she cast a ring which could not be broken or penetrated, and by which steadily, surely, inevitably, she strangled her opponent. But it was not by her Navy alone, as in some previous wars, that she saved Europe. She put into the field in the first weeks an Army, contemptible perhaps in numbers but very effective in quality, an Army which for the whole Alliance bridged the gulf that separated ordered retreat from disaster. Having averted disaster that Army, drawing new sources of valour and strength both from Great Britain and from the Dominions, built itself up into that mighty instrument of war which in the end wore down the enemy's resistance and, in the crowning weeks that ended the great struggle, drove him irresistibly back towards his final surrender. Throughout that struggle Great Britain equipped and financed and armed her Allies; throughout that struggle she gave the lead and kept the Alliance together. Certainly, in the years of trial she did not show herself unworthy of her leadership in the Empire.

What of the years that have followed? They have been years of difficulty, of reaction, and, inevitably, years of self-criticism. I think we are sometimes too apt to let nothing but our self-criticism go out to all the ends of the world, and to let the world think that that is the whole story, and that we have, in fact, failed to cope with our post-war problems, and that the one great effort has exhausted us. That is the very contrary of the truth. When I look back upon those years, what amazes me is the way in which Britain has carried on, as if she had never sacrificed 750,000 lives or burdened herself with £8,000,000,000 of debt. She has faced her debts as if they were a common every-day matter of business. She has never for one moment weakened the fabric of her credit or resorted to any easy and tempting devices to get round her financial difficulties. She has faced unexampled industrial problems at home, and faced them unflinchingly. She has had to deal with unemployment on a colossal scale. She has found

ways and means of coping with it. I know that our own criticisms of some of the incidental defects of our system of unemployment insurance have been spread abroad to large sections of the world who believe that there are millions of our people living upon a dole, on mere charity, unwilling to work, unwilling to help themselves. There may be individual cases of that sort, but as regards the great mass of the working men of Britain, they wish to work. They are never less happy than when they are depending upon the so-called "dole," which, after all, is not a dole but an insurance scheme to which they themselves are contributors. They wish to get free from it as soon as they can. The great majority of the men who have recourse to insurance have recourse to it not year in year out, but for a few days or weeks; and if the figures are high, they are for ever changing.

Despite all the industrial difficulties with which we have been confronted, despite the burden of the Great War, we have gone on with domestic reforms more boldly than ever before. The reaction of the War upon the temper of our people has been to give them a greater sense of equality, a greater sense of the social responsibility of the wealthy towards the poor. We have broadened our franchise since the War; we have enormously widened and strengthened our educational system; we have introduced schemes of social insurance for old age and widowhood and orphanhood more extensive, more generous, than those introduced by any country in the world. All these reforms have cost vast sums of money, the burden of which we have unhesitatingly assumed. We are paying a great price, but we can claim that in return for it, the next generation in Great Britain is growing up to-day under better health conditions, under better social conditions, under better educational conditions, than any generation before.

Meanwhile, we have not in any sense shirked any burden which our international or Imperial position has imposed upon us. We have taken a leading part, even if it involved considerable responsibilities, in building up the peace of

Europe. Through our work on the League of Nations, through our part in framing the Locarno Treaty, we have not withdrawn ourselves from the problems of Europe but made our contribution—I think an all-important contribution—to the world's peace. Elsewhere, in the Middle East, in India, in the Far East, we have not only carried on the work of the past; we have shouldered new responsibilities since the War and we have not hesitated to do justice to those responsibilities. In our Colonial Empire we have brought a new spirit and a new temper to bear on the problem of dealing with backward peoples. We are no longer concerned merely with peace and order and the suppression of the worst evils of savagery; we have a new conception of our trusteeship and of what we owe to the education, to the health, to the political progress, of even the most backward races in our charge. We have begun—and this perhaps interests you more than any other aspect of our work—to deal with the problem of our inter-Imperial economic relations in a new spirit.

We have always recognized our obligation for the security of the Empire as a whole. But we have in the past regarded economic issues as matters in which each part of the Empire should look after itself alone, hoping and believing that things would thus work out in the best interest of all. Since the War we have come as a nation to look very differently upon those problems. We have come to realize that you cannot separate defence, foreign policy, economic life, into water-tight compartments; that you cannot pursue an Imperial policy in foreign affairs and in defence, and a Little Englander policy in economic matters. Let me give one or two illustrations of what I mean by that. Before the War we used to regard it as entirely a matter of individual concern where people who left our shores went to. We thought it no part of our duty to encourage them to go to British Dominions rather than to settle in foreign countries. We thought it no part of our duty, if they chose to go to some other part of the Empire, to assist their passage, to help with their training,

to help with their after-care or their settlement across the seas. To-day, we look on these matters very differently. We are spending money freely to-day, in co-operation with the other Governments of the Empire, in enabling those who wish to settle overseas, to be assisted to surmount the grievous cost of passages under present conditions, to be assisted in their training at the British end, to be assisted in many cases with their training in the Dominions, to be assisted in one way or another in establishing themselves overseas. We are doing that as a measure of co-operation in Empire building, and not as a mere device to shift the burden of our own unemployment on to others.

Again, before the War we regarded, or professed to regard, Empire trade as of no more interest to us than any other form of trade. We are very far from that conception to-day. It would have been an undreamt-of thing before the War for any British Government to set aside £1,000,000 a year for no other purpose than that of furthering Empire trade in the British market. To-day we are spending that money, partly, as the Prime Minister has told you, in every form of publicity and propaganda, through posters, through "Empire shopping weeks," through lectures, and we hope through cinema films in future. In a score of different ways we are endeavouring to bring home to our people that it is to their interest to buy the products of their fellow-citizens overseas, and that they can get as good stuff from the Empire as they can get from any foreign source. That educational work has already had a very great effect. I doubt if there is a single Dominion which has not felt it in an increased demand, from the individual customer to the shopkeeper, from the shopkeeper to the wholesaler, and so reflected in the volume of orders for Dominion produce. We are spending that money also on every form of research—sometimes spending it alone, but more often in co-operation with Governments and institutions overseas—that can help the producer in the British Empire, whether it affects the soil, whether it affects the conditions of growth of animals, whether it

affects the various vegetable or insect pests which interfere with the development of agriculture, whether it affects the conditions under which you can improve your flocks and your dairy herds, or whether it affects the actual conditions under which your produce is carried, chilled or frozen, across the seas. Over all this great range we are contributing money to find out the best and most effective ways of helping the producer overseas, and every year I believe we shall gain a richer and richer harvest from the money which is being expended to-day. That is another instance of a new outlook on the part of the British people.

Then there is the question of fiscal preference, so much debated in the past. Before the War we fought that question over many years as an economic question, as a question of theoretical Free Trade or theoretical Protection. To-day we look upon it as a problem of Empire responsibility, and while it is still for us to decide our own fiscal policy in the light of the present-day situation, we have long ago dropped the idea that where we have duties we should be precluded from imposing those duties at a lower rate, or remitting them altogether, for our fellow-subjects in the Empire. We have quite a considerable list of preferences already, and it is only an accident of our fiscal system that very few of them are of any direct advantage to New Zealand. But I can assure you that there are many parts of the Empire whose whole development and progress to-day is dependent upon the preferences given in the present narrow range of the British fiscal system. I cannot help thinking myself that once our people—so slow to move, but so deadly sure when they once get in motion—realize what Empire trade may mean, and come to the conclusion that Britain's interest lies in the development of her partners in the Empire, then, sooner or later, we shall greatly extend the range of the help that we can give to the rest of the Empire. I think we are in these matters only at the beginning, but, a great conception having once seized our peoples, I have no doubt that we

shall work forward, each in our own way, until we have established throughout the length and breadth of the Empire a really effective system of economic co-operation.

What that system may achieve it is difficult for any man to say. I would only say this. Looking at the vastness of our resources throughout the Empire, looking at the quality and character of the men who have to make use of those resources, I think it would be difficult to put any limit that the experience of the past can suggest upon the prosperity and development which we can create in the generation or two before us. The immense development of the United States in the last fifty years, with a far smaller area, with far smaller resources, gives us at any rate some idea of what can be achieved. We start with an infinitely wider field, with more recent lessons of science to help in our development, and I venture to think that, far as they have gone, we can go much farther yet. Such a policy, boundless as its material results may be, ought at the same time never to be conceived by us as one aiming at material results alone. Increased production, increased wealth, are only desirable as the material foundations for all that development of national and Imperial policy, that added beauty of human life, that freedom and growth of the spirit which we wish to bring about. It is for the sake of these things that the British Empire has been worth defending in the past; it is for their sake that it is worth rebuilding for a greater future.

XXIII. PUBLIC ADDRESS, THEATRE ROYAL, CHRISTCHURCH.

November 30th, 1927

Since I left home a few months ago I have travelled 8,000 miles over the length and breadth of South Africa; I have travelled something like the same distance through the length and breadth of Australia; I am travelling up and down your two beautiful Islands; and then I shall still have a good many thousand miles to travel and many scores of places to visit in the great Dominion of Canada. Every place in all those Dominions has its own interest, its own fascination, its own reasons for making me wish that I could stay there longer. And yet, when I have gone through them all, when I have spent a few hours at each important centre and have had just a glimpse to refresh my memory of those various places, even then I shall have visited only a portion of the British Empire. I shall have visited all the great Dominions and most of the chief centres in them, but I shall not have visited that wonderful Empire of India whose population is far greater than that of the rest of the British Empire put together. I shall not have visited the great Colonial Empire in the West Indies, in West Africa, in East Africa, in Malaya or the Far East. In fact, I shall only have visited one portion, though certainly not the least important portion, of that amazing structure which we call the "British Empire."

You may ask me, "What have you to say about that Empire?" I have already indicated to you something of its enormous extent; it embraces a fifth of the land surface of the globe and almost a quarter of its population; it

embraces peoples of every race, of every religion, of every degree of civilization. I could no doubt weary you for an hour with statistics about the wealth, the strength, the material development of the British Empire. But all that would, after all, tell you very little about it, or tell you very little that would make the British Empire seem something specially worth working for or caring for. There have been great Empires in the world before, with vast populations or covering vast areas. The question that concerns us is: What does this British Empire mean, what purposes does it stand for, what object does it serve that makes it worth our while to be interested in it, and as citizens of that Empire, to give our devotion and our life to it?

For one thing, I suppose we might say that this Empire of ours is a partnership for the peace and security of those who belong to it. Within its confines the Empire implies peace among all the peoples that belong to it. One quarter of mankind, at any rate, are pledged to perpetual peace with each other. War between them is unthinkable. That, after all, is something in this world. And if the Empire broke to pieces you could never say that again of the parts into which it had broken up, namely, that they were bound in common loyalty to remain at peace with each other and to help each other. Further, it stands for the common security of all of us against danger from without. There is no part of the Empire to-day that would be safe, that could exist with its present measures of defence, if it had not the consciousness that behind its own measures of defence lay the strength of our whole partnership. What would the development of New Zealand have been when the pioneers were first struggling to hew their way through the bush, giving their whole attention to the little infant settlements that have gradually spread and made this fair country, if all the time they had to live in fear of foreign invasion, or with the thought that outside their own narrow settlements the rest of these Islands might have been acquired by some other Power? Through all that

period of growth and development the power of the British Navy has played its part in the background. It has enabled New Zealand to grow, and the help and shelter which Britain, without thought of reward, gave to New Zealand in the years of its growth came back in ample measure in the day of trial when, unasked, unsummoned, New Zealand stood by our side the moment the danger came.

It is not only in hours of danger, however, that you must measure the value of our common security; it is far more in the years of peace when that security, hardly realized, yet enables our national life in each part of the Empire to go on developing freely with the very minimum of the burden of military preparation. That security of ours has always rested, so it seems to me, on two things. The first I have already mentioned: the Navy which keeps open the pathways of the sea for all of us and enables the strength of each of us to be supplemented and backed by the strength of the rest in any just quarrel. But side by side with that work of the Navy has also been the peaceful work of British statesmanship. Military or naval power alone cannot preserve the peace or security of any people if it is accompanied by a policy of restless aggression and interference with the affairs of others. There is no series of successful wars—as even Germany learnt—which does not bring its own retribution if war has become the object of a nation's policy. What has made the work of the British Navy possible, what has justified that work in the eyes of other nations, has been the fact that British policy throughout has been a factor making for peace. We have used what Canning described as "our mediating and moderating influence in world politics," and when we have drawn the sword it has always been, as it was in the last Great War, after many searchings of heart, with great reluctance, and after making every effort to avert it. That is one aspect of our partnership—a partnership for mutual peace and mutual support in time of danger.

There is another aspect, the aspect of mutual support

in development. A writer—Sir John Harington—300 years ago, in a work which he called *Oceana*, The Empire of the Ocean, dedicated to that great Englishman, Oliver Cromwell, spoke of the British Commonwealth as a "Commonwealth for Increase," and it is that even more than a Commonwealth for defence to-day. The greatest, the most urgent of all the tasks before any of us is the building up of our national life, the raising of the standard of well-being of our peoples, the strengthening of our population, the completing of all that makes for national welfare and national well-being. In that task each of us is confronted by many difficulties, by many limitations, inevitable in the character of our communities or of the territory which they inhabit. If, on the other hand, we can co-operate together, if we can balance a one-sided development in one part of the Empire with a corresponding market in another, if we can pool our resources, if we can use the energizing power of each of our markets to furnish employment and opportunities for production for the rest of the Empire, and get similar opportunities given us in return, then the problem for each of us becomes a far easier one.

It is to study the possibilities of that co-operation that I have set forth on this voyage—at any rate, that has been not the least of my objects—to see where and how we could make our economic policy fit in with yours, to see where and how you produce things which we might buy from you rather than from foreign countries, to see where and how you could help us by buying things which we produce rather than buying them from foreign countries. I know how much that policy of mutual help within the Empire has been in the minds of the people of New Zealand for more than a generation. It was a policy, voiced, with all his rough vigour and earnest sincerity, by Mr. Seddon in the old days, voiced by Sir Joseph Ward, and by that fine veteran statesman of Empire, the late Mr. Massey, as it is voiced to-day and has been given practical effect to more effectively than ever before in the last changes of your tariff. In that respect New Zealand has given a

fine lead to the rest of the Empire, though everywhere else in the Empire, too, there is definite evidence of the desire to co-operate with the Mother Country and with the other Dominions.

But we also in the Old Country are more conscious than we have ever been in the past of our responsibility for co-operation in these matters and of our interest in that co-operation. I need not at this moment go into detail as to the various preferences which now form part of our British fiscal system. They have been of advantage to many parts of the Empire, though not, I am sorry to say, to any appreciable extent to New Zealand. Nor would there be any advantage in my attempting at this stage, on my own personal authority, to forecast what extension our preferential system may take in the near future. What I do feel, and feel strongly, is that the British people, having once conceived a great idea like that of Empire development through a policy of co-operation, are not likely to abandon it. They are not going back upon the policy which they have initiated. On the contrary, I am positive that sooner or later they will march determinedly forward with that policy, and give a lead to the Empire in that matter as they so often have given a lead in other matters in the past.

In other ways too, Mr. Chairman—which I mentioned in some detail at a farmers' meeting this afternoon—we have been spending our money freely in the Old Country in order, by publicity, by research, in a score of different ways, to help the farmer and producer in the British Empire to sell his goods in the Old Country. It is in the same spirit of co-operation that we have entered upon the task of joining with the Governments overseas in helping them to find the people they need for the development of their territories. There was a time when we regarded migration as a matter of no interest to our Government. If people chose to leave our shores, that was their affair. If they chose to go to a British Dominion or to a foreign country, that was their affair; and something like

10,000,000 of our best blood left the shores of Britain to build up a great foreign nation, the United States.

To-day, we think differently about these matters. We feel that it *does* make a difference whether people who leave our shores remain under the flag or become lost to the flag. The War made us realize that those who remained under the flag were with us from the first day of war, were with us with all their might, with all their strength, and to the last shilling. Those who went away from us might remain friends, might belong to a great and friendly nation: but it was, after all, a mere chance, due to the folly of Germany rather than to any other cause, which, after three years, brought those many millions of ex-British subjects who live in the United States back to help us in that great struggle. Therefore, we have come to a very different point of view on that matter and are prepared to-day to give encouragement to those who wish to stay within the Empire, and not to leave the whole burden of expenditure on settlement in the hands of the Governments overseas, because we have come to realize that in war and in peace, the men who remain under the flag, and their children and their grandchildren, are worth far more to us than those who go beyond its confines.

In another respect, too, we have changed our point of view with regard to migration. There was a time when we thought of it simply as of a question of relieving ourselves of our surplus population. I admit that was not the view of those far-sighted statesmen like Wakefield and others who founded the first settlements in New Zealand and South Australia and elsewhere. They, like that great sailor Captain Cook, always had the vision that they were building up New Britains across the seas, new sources of strength for the Empire in future generations. But after them there came that curious period of indifference to all things Imperial, and to all considerations except the narrowest consideration of profit-making, which led us to regard it as a matter of no consequence where our children went if they chose to leave our shores. During that period

the one point of view from which migration was regarded was that of an easement to our own burdens and our own responsibilities at home.

That is not the point of view to-day. The last thing we wish to do in the Old Country is to shirk any of our own responsibilities in dealing with our own problem of unemployment. The last thing we wish to do is to encourage any unemployed man at home to leave the Old Country with all its associations and its opportunities, and to become an unemployed man here. What we are concerned with is something very different: it is helping your Government, as we help other Governments overseas, to select the right man and right woman, to assist them if they wish to come here and cannot afford to pay the heavy cost of a passage for a whole family, to give them a fair start over here, knowing that if they are helped not only by the Government but by the good-will of the whole community to make a fair start, to take root, to become effective producers, why then they are the best employers both of your own people and of our own people at home; because every man who produces not only contributes to the wealth of the country by what he produces, but also by the expenditure of his earnings contributes to the well-being of other producers and to the maintenance of their standard of living. There are no customers—and customers are employers—so good for Britain as the men who have gone out from her shores to build up the young British nations overseas.

Co-operation in defence, co-operation in spreading our people to wherever they can make the best living and do the best work for the Empire, co-operation in mutual trade and mutual development—are we limited to that? Is the Empire only a partnership for making money in safety? I think not. Money and safety are both essential material factors, but they are only factors, means towards something higher. The British Empire stands for something far more than mutual insurance or mutual co-operation in trade. It stands for great ideals, for principles of political

freedom, of ordered responsible freedom, which have been carried further among us than anywhere else in the world. It stands for a spirit of toleration and fair play which is reflected not only in our social relations among ourselves, but also in the way in which the British Government has managed to deal with peoples of every race and of every creed that have come under British sway. One example of that is shown in your relation here in New Zealand to the Maori community in your midst. Another example of that wider trusteeship which the British Government exercises over hundreds of millions of people is the responsibility New Zealand has undertaken in recent years in its mandated territory. There again the things that Britain stands for are sympathy, toleration, understanding of other peoples, a desire to help them rather than to exploit them, a desire to bring them closer to ourselves, to give them the best of our civilization, without in any way wishing to rob them of their own individual life or of their own character.

Then our Empire, our Flag—all those things which call forth our distinctive patriotism—stand for such a world of ideals and emotions. They represent all that wealth of thought that is embodied in the great writers and thinkers and poets of the English language, all that Britain has contributed in science and art and philosophy to the world, all our efforts at social improvement, at the betterment of life. And in all of them what can be done in each one of our nations can be done so much better in the wider co-operation of the Empire. The fact that round the world there exists a body of nations, each with its own individuality, but each linked to the others by a rich common tradition and by a great language, enables the thought of each to influence, to inspire, to quicken the thought of the other. Nothing is more striking perhaps than the poverty of thought, the lack of genius, that so often occurs in small nations, not because they are small, but because their horizon is limited and their points of contact with anything akin to themselves so few. With us in the

British Empire there is unlimited room for national individuality, for the development of local patriotism, local art, local thought, but quickened, refreshed, invigorated all the time by contact with the main stream of British thought outside.

Last, but not least, our Empire is something that regards not only itself and the welfare of its own peoples, but has also some conception of a wider responsibility to mankind at large. Indeed, one might regard the British Empire as constituting the finest training in international thinking and international responsibility. There is no emotion that calls for greater sacrifice, greater heroism, than the emotion of patriotism. Yet patriotism can be a narrow and selfish thing if its borders are too limited. Nowadays we think little of a merely tribal patriotism; it is difficult for us to understand the passionate patriotism of the ancient world, which was always the patriotism for a single city. We have learned to think in terms of national patriotism. But our British Commonwealth teaches us something more. It teaches us to broaden patriotism so that it includes not only the people of our own race living in the same part of the world as ourselves, but countries far away, peoples very different in every respect from our own. The patriotism of Empire makes us feel a loyalty and obligation, not only towards Canada or Australia or South Africa or Great Britain, but also to all the peoples, Indian or African, that form part of the Empire. It gives, therefore, a new and wider content to patriotism; it makes it a more far-reaching emotion, something in which the element of selfishness becomes less and less, the element of unselfishness, of regard for others, becomes more and more.

If we cannot rise to the conception of a patriotism embracing all the different races and peoples of the British Empire, how can we be fit to rise to any wider conception of international relations? If we are good citizens of the Empire, we have at any rate gone a long way towards being good citizens of the world. This is all the more true because this Empire of ours is not an exclusive Empire.

It has never surrounded itself by a Chinese wall; it could not do so scattered, as it is, throughout the world, in contact with every other nation on every continent. The British Commonwealth has got to live among and with the rest of the world. In doing so, its influence has always been cast, and I think always must be cast by the very necessities of the case, into the scales for peace and goodwill among the nations. It is not only the influence that it has exercised in the establishment and development of the League of Nations; it is in the whole conduct of its foreign policy—a very conservative, prudent, long-suffering foreign policy sometimes, but one that has always endeavoured to understand something of the point of view of other nations and make its contribution towards the common good of the world as well as to safeguard the more immediate interests of the British Empire and of its territories.

There is therefore something in the British Empire for which all of us can work or devote ourselves to, whatever our particular interests are. If we are lovers of international peace, then the best instrument to our hand is the strength and unity of the British Empire. The worst disservice anyone could render to the cause of the world's peace would be to weaken that Empire or to do anything that would bring about its dissolution. If we care for social reform, then working for it, as our duty is, in our own part of the Empire, we can gain enormously both by the experience of other parts of the Empire and by that strengthening of the material basis of all social reform which Imperial co-operation can give. Whatever problem we are interested in—international or domestic, scientific, literary, political—we gain by co-operation; we can only lose if we work selfishly and in isolation.

I have attempted, not very successfully perhaps, to try to give you some explanation of what we mean when we talk of the British Empire, not merely of the outwardness of it but of the meaning and purpose that lies behind it. But when I have said all that, I suppose I have covered but

a very little part of the subject. For most of us, explanation or no explanation, the Empire lies deep in our hearts, as a matter of our instinct, our pride, our love, the things that hold us together round the world. No formal constitution binds the British Empire together; no armed forces coerce New Zealand to keep in line with Canada or with Great Britain; no law is dictated to the free peoples of any of our Dominions from outside. The bonds that hold us together are deeper and stronger; they showed their irresistible power when the hour of danger came some thirteen years ago. They are, I believe, going to show their irresistible influence in that building up of a greater, nobler, and fairer British Empire which we can, I think, achieve in the generations that lie before us.

XXIV. ADDRESS TO BOYS OF WAITAKI HIGH SCHOOL, OAMARU.

DECEMBER 1ST, 1927

I have never forgotten the morning I spent here fourteen years ago and the deep impression that the whole character of the School left on me. I addressed the School on that occasion. I have little recollection of what I said except that a very large part of my speech was devoted to the problem of Imperial defence, to the common duty which lay upon citizens in every part of the Empire to take their part in that defence if the Empire should be threatened. I had no idea then that in less than a year a great struggle would come upon us, and that in that struggle hundreds of your old boys, some even of those whom I addressed, would be taking their place in the ranks of the New Zealand Force and going out across the world to play a splendid part for themselves and to help New Zealand to win a new place for herself in the Empire and in the world.

One of the things that struck me most going round the School on that occasion, was the wisdom of your Headmaster in making the whole history of the Empire and of the world alive by hanging on the walls of the School pictures of great men who had made their mark in shaping the destiny of the world and of the British Empire. While looking at those walls just now, I saw other pictures, pictures of your own old boys who also played their part in shaping the world anew and preventing a great disaster coming to British freedom, and to freedom all over the world, and creating the opportunities for a new and greater British Empire to develop in the future. To-day in your halls is hung the armour of the imperishable knights of

our own day. Side by side with those pictures I have also seen with no little interest the coloured posters produced by the Empire Marketing Board which indicate something of the new future of Empire development in the work of peace to which I hope we shall be allowed to devote ourselves in the years before us.

Your welcome just now—I need not tell you how much I appreciated your singing of "Forty Years On"—reminded me of days when I was shorter in memory but less short in wind (though I hope I may still have enough to climb some of your mountains), reminded me of my own old school and of Harrow schoolfellows, of boys who have made good since or who have fallen in making good for others. Amid these memories, my mind wandered, as you were singing, to all those other schools that I have visited in the last few months—schools in Rhodesia, in South Africa, in one or other of the Australian States, where I met everywhere the same thing that I have met here—the same kind of boys, the same individual tradition linked with the finest tradition of English public school life, the tradition which not only teaches boys something that may enable them to earn a living and do well themselves, but also teaches them that they have a public duty to their country and to the Empire, the tradition which was summed up in a sentence long ago as serving God in Church and State, doing something in whatever walk of life you embrace which is going to do good to others as well as benefit yourselves.

Wherever I have been at each one of those schools I have seen the same memorial of what its sons did in the Great War, sometimes a Library, sometimes a splendid Hall like this, sometimes a purely decorative memorial. It has helped me to realize what a bond the fellowship of our great schools is throughout the Empire. From one end of the Empire to the other the same kind of boys are inspired with the same spirit, the spirit which teaches them to value a clean and healthy body, which inspires them to try to do the best at their

work, but never to take themselves too seriously or think of themselves without a little humour, which sends them out with the feeling that they are going to play the game in whatever profession or walk of life they take up. No one, I think, in the world has greater privileges than those who go out from the schools of the British Empire and, above all, who are going out from them at this time. You are going out to be citizens of New Zealand, of a beautiful country with immense possibilities before it, a country which has behind it not only the splendid tradition of the pioneers, not only the splendid valour of your countrymen who went out in the Great War, but also all the splendid tradition of Britain's past. Never forget that the great men of the past and all they have done—everything that is enshrined in Magna Charta or the Declaration of Rights, or lives in Westminster Abbey or St. Paul's, or in the old Mother of Parliaments—belong to you just as much as they belong to those of us who have remained in the Old Land.

In going out from school to become citizens of this splendid young country, destined to play a leading part in the Empire, as Britain did in earlier days in the history of Europe, you are going out not as citizens of New Zealand only, but of the whole Empire, citizens of a world-wide Commonwealth. Wherever you go in that Commonwealth, if you should happen to leave New Zealand, and if your career takes you, as it has taken many men, outside your country—wherever you go you will land not as strangers, not as aliens, but as fellow-subjects and fellow-citizens. That is a privilege and right that no one outside the British Empire enjoys. That brings me to the other side of what I said, namely, that you who belong to this generation have perhaps the most interesting future of any generation. Our generation and the generation before ours have lived through a wonderful time. It was a wonderful time when the first British settlements took root in the scattered Colonies that have become Dominions since. It has been an even more wonderful time watching

the full development side by side of national freedom and of the sense of Imperial unity in the last thirty or forty years. I do not claim to be an old man yet, but in my own time I have seen every Dominion, except Canada which was federated a few years before my birth, joined from scattered Colonies into great Dominions. I have seen a united Empire joining in effort and sacrifice undreamt of before in order to preserve the heritage of its territories and its traditions. I have seen the Empire take the last step in the evolution of freedom at the Imperial Conference of last year. But of the most wonderful development of all—development in wealth, development in trade, development in defensive strength and, above all, development in every art and science and mode of thought —which is going to take place in the years before us, I can only hope to see something of the early stages.

Your privilege is to go out from school with a life of infinite possibilities before you, into a world of immense interest and immense opportunity. Whatever you take up, you will, as citizens, as voters, some of you, possibly, as public men, be able to feel that you are playing a part in the shaping of the most wonderful thing that the world has yet seen, this free British Commonwealth of ours— that Commonwealth which has discovered the freest form of government and yet preserves order and progress as no other State has done in history; that Commonwealth which has discovered how to preserve unity among all its members and yet leave them each in perfect freedom to work out their own destiny; that Commonwealth which, most important of all, offers a boundless field for every exercise of the mind, for every human activity, which embraces every type of race and of people, every climate, every condition in which man can live, which unites them all in one great brotherhood and in that brotherhood provides for each of its members the finest opportunity that has ever been given to human beings anywhere in the world.

XXV. WELLINGTON CLUB, WELLINGTON.

DECEMBER 14TH, 1927

You have referred, Mr. Chairman, to the week of glorious life which I have just spent in the heart of your Southern Alps. You have there a treasure-house of beauty and a playground unequalled anywhere in the world, though it has struck me that the full extent of your opportunities is hardly realized by yourselves. It is not so much a question of what you may bring into the country by attracting the tourist from outside—that is all to the good; it is a useful source of revenue as far as it goes. But it seems to me a small thing compared with the revenue in health and happiness, in vigour of body and mind, in sanity of outlook, which your own people, young and old, can win for themselves by taking advantage of this wonderful playground, this wonderful field for the enjoyment of Nature's beauty. The Swiss, like yourselves, are a small people. They, too, gain a good deal from their tourist traffic. But in their case what they gain in that way is a small thing compared with what they have in recent years learnt to gain for themselves by the use they make of their mountains as their own field of enjoyment, as their own field of sport. If I might make a suggestion—and I do so with some diffidence —it might be worth while the leading men in this country getting together in order to create a public opinion in favour of the habit of making more use of your mountain country, whether it be for mountain rambling or for mountaineering on skis or for mountaineering, in the stricter sense, on foot. In all these fields you have opportunities here which exist in few other countries. I know many of the great mountain regions of the world, but I know few

where, taking it all round, the opportunities for sport and for the enjoyment of mountain scenery are as fine as they are in your South Island.

When I have said that, I cannot help thinking of something else, and that is this: New Zealand may be a country of great and beautiful mountains, but she is also an island country. Like Britain, like most of the British Empire, she is girt by the sea. You have grown from the sea inwards; your whole development has presupposed the freedom of the sea for you. The freedom of the seas enabled that great sailor, Captain Cook, first to discover your shores. The freedom of the seas, won at Trafalgar, made it natural, in the generation that followed, that New Zealand, like Australia and like many other parts of the world, should belong to the British Empire and not to some other country. That freedom of the seas is a governing condition of your life, as it is of the life of the whole Empire. Ours is not a continental Empire that has spread along its land frontiers: it is an oceanic Empire that has grown everywhere from the sea as its base. It lives, it moves and has its being by sea power. That power to maintain the freedom of the seas is our jewel of price, and if once we lose it we lose everything else. Therefore, it occurred to me that, speaking to so representative a gathering, it might not be wholly out of place if I said a few words about the history of British naval policy since the Great War.

Before that War all our efforts were concentrated on dealing with one particular danger. New Zealand made her contribution towards that effort in the shape of H.M.S. *New Zealand*, and, with a recognition of that unity of naval policy which lies, not in scattering your fleets to try and protect an almost unlimited coast line, but in concentrating it to meet your enemy, sent the *New Zealand* to the North Sea. Our Fleet was then concentrated in the North Sea, but let me make it quite clear, not because Great Britain was in the North Sea, but because Germany was in the North Sea; not to defend the coasts of England but to

bottle up and mask the German Navy from the very outset. In that task we were completely successful, and from the very first day of the War Germany's doom was sealed so long as we held her in the iron ring of our sea power.

When the War was over we were left in a position of superiority at sea such as we have never, perhaps, enjoyed before. We had two problems to think of. One was how to bring the world back to a peaceful atmosphere and to contribute our own share to a general disarmament. The other was how to preserve our naval security and readjust its distribution to new conditions. From the first point of view we took the lead in disarming ourselves. We scrapped more than 2,000,000 tons of battleships of one sort or another even before the Washington Conference; we reduced our Navy to less than half, not of its post-war strength but of its pre-war strength. As regards the other problem, the German menace having been removed, we found ourselves in a position in which no definite menace confronted us. There was no great naval Power which cherished designs against us. On the other hand, we can never afford to be inferior at sea to any Power, however friendly. No one can foretell what may happen in the world's affairs. If, for a month only, our sea power were paralysed, everything might be lost for all time.

Coupled with that need for maintaining the minimum standard of security, we had to consider the fact that the new great naval Powers of the world were not concentrated opposite us in the Narrow Seas, but distributed all over the world—the United States on the Atlantic and the Pacific, Japan in the Pacific, other lesser naval Powers in the Mediterranean. The problem, therefore, was how, with the smallest possible Navy, to make sure of the general security of the whole Empire. From that point of view it was obvious that the North Sea was no longer the right point of concentration and that we ought to go back to our old centre of naval concentration, the Mediterranean, from which we could move our Fleet either westwards into the Atlantic or eastwards into the Indian Ocean and the

Pacific Ocean most rapidly, in whatever direction it might be required. As you know very well, mobility for modern fleets depends essentially upon bases. To a certain distance on that route our system of bases had been built up in the past. There was Gibraltar, which we won more than two centuries ago, and have held stubbornly again and again. There was Malta, the very pivot of all our fighting during the Napoleonic Wars. There was Egypt and the Suez Canal, the position which we made good forty years ago, which in the interests of the Empire we have got to continue to keep good, and which we have strengthened since the War by our control of the countries beyond the Suez Canal. But, beyond that there was a serious gap in our whole scheme of mobility—the absence of any base in the Far East where our ships could be refitted, re-provisioned or concentrated. It was that fact that led us definitely to the conclusion that we ought to establish an adequate modern naval base at Singapore. We had agreed at the Washington Conference not to enlarge our existing minor base at Hong Kong, a reasonable concession, because that was a base which, if enlarged beyond a certain point, might conceivably have indicated aggressive intentions towards Japan or towards China. But Singapore, 3,000 miles away from Japan, could have no other purpose than that of enabling the British Navy and the Navies of the Dominions to get into touch with each other and to concentrate together for their common defence, and of completing a defensive circle round the Indian Ocean which would enable that ocean from Invercargill to Cape Town, and from Auckland to the Suez Canal, to be secure for the immense traffic—a thousand million pounds a year or more—that crosses it in times of peace. It was a policy aimed at the economy which comes from mobility and at the protection of a most vital and substantial portion of the Empire's trade. The whole scheme of reorganization of which that base forms part was inspired, not by an aggressive but by a purely defensive conception; at the same time not by a "Little Englander" outlook but by

an Imperial outlook. It was a sound reorganization from the strategical point of view, but I believe it was also sound as evidence of a new outlook upon Imperial affairs.

Let me say a word or two on subsequent developments. Since we decided on the Singapore Base—a decision at one moment reversed but now, I think, certain to be persevered in—other Governments of the Empire, like your Government here, Mr. Prime Minister, like the Governments of the Federated Malay States and others, have shown their interest in the Imperial character of the scheme by undertaking to give it their active support. Since then we have had to deal further with the problem of how far we can give a lead, a helping hand, towards the general limitation of armaments in the world. We gave a very effective lead, I think, at the time of the Washington Conference. We threw our whole weight as an Empire, and not as Great Britain alone, into the scale in order to improve the relations between Japan and the United States, and so make possible that fixing of Battle Fleets and that limitation of the construction of fortified bases, the whole object of which was to prevent any one of the three Powers being in a position to wage an aggressive war against the other. To make that purpose of ours doubly clear we agreed to limit our fighting Fleet to the same strength as that of the United States, the first time in history that we have definitely limited ourselves to equality with another Power —equality in numbers at any rate.

We consented to that limitation, and I think in doing so made a valuable contribution towards the peace of the world and to that world economy which will enable the world's energies to be devoted as far as possible to the tasks of peace. But we had to make it quite clear at Washington that there was one thing which we could not limit in the same way, and that was our naval police force, —the cruisers which are required on our 60,000 miles of sea routes to guard the trade which is vital to the existence of all of us, and to keep open those routes so that we can all come to the help of any one member which is threatened.

The problem is essentially one of police. The number of police in a city is fixed not so much by the number of burglars known to be at liberty as by the number of streets which have to be guarded, and if the streets are many, even a small force of burglars may necessitate a very large body of police to cope with them. When the *Königsberg* and the *Emden* got loose during the War we had at one time as many as thirty cruisers hunting those ships—which indicates the need, not for powerful cruisers, not for aggressive cruisers, but for a sufficient number to be available at all the threatened points.

Therefore, when President Coolidge recently suggested another Conference with a view to the limitation of naval armaments, we readily accepted his offer, and we endeavoured to work out such a scheme as would, consistently with our absolute minimum police requirements, provide for those requirements being met by vessels of a purely defensive character. We had accepted the 10,000-ton limit for cruisers at Washington, though we would have preferred a smaller limit, and at Geneva our proposals were based on stopping the costly competition in 10,000-ton cruisers and in encouraging the building of cheaper, purely defensive cruisers of smaller tonnage and of smaller gun-power. We thought that in those proposals, coupled as they were with other proposals for limiting the size and power of destroyers and submarines, and for prolonging the age of battleships, we had worked out a scheme which was a genuine contribution to disarmament, which gave a genuine response to the invitation which we had accepted, and which could in no way be held to be a pretext for a relative increase of our naval power at the expense of any one else. As you know very well, our proposals were misunderstood, misinterpreted, and the Conference broke down, on a demand—no doubt made in good faith—by the United States for a fixed tonnage, with no limitation practically to size or gun-power of cruisers—a scheme which, if accepted, would have involved a new race, a competition in building 10,000-ton

cruisers, and the scrapping of everything smaller. From what I have seen in the newspapers of the new American cruiser building programme we may not altogether avoid escaping something in the nature of a new competition in naval armaments. We shall do all in our power to avoid it, but there obviously is a limit. We cannot afford to abandon the whole position on which the British Empire rests. Nor can we afford to imperil good relations with the United States, which we value more than our relations with any other Power, by putting ourselves into such a position of inferiority as would really make self-respecting, straightforward dealings with them impossible.

Therefore, we may have to face that problem, possibly in the near future, as an actual problem of seeing where and how we can find the necessary means, Great Britain still for a long time in the first instance finding the main cost, but the Dominions, as their sense of a common responsibility and interest grows, as their resources grow, also contributing their share. But I do not believe it is as a mere problem of armaments that we ought to consider this question. We may, as I say, be forced to spend more in the near future than we should like to spend. What we really have to consider is how can we put ourselves into such a position of economic strength, have such revenues behind all our Governments, such building power behind them, such man-power, that we can sustain whatever competition may be forced upon us by the action of others —we certainly shall never provoke it—without an undue burden upon any one of our communities, without diverting an unreasonable proportion of our revenues, of our creative power, to defensive purposes instead of to the more fruitful tasks of peaceful development and social reform.

It is from that point of view, as well as from many others, that I have been convinced that the greatest problem before us in the immediate future is our economic co-operation and the development of our resources. If the United States to-day can afford, almost as a trifle, to spend sums which would involve almost unendurable burdens

upon us, it is only because they have developed the resources of their territory more fully than we have. But in fact our territories are many times greater than theirs, our human resources are at least the equal of theirs. And if we can get together and develop our resources as they could be developed by a policy of co-operation, the question of what we collectively, or what we each of us might have to contribute to maintain the naval security of the Empire, will become relatively a small matter, will involve no crushing burden, and will involve none of those feelings of antagonism which are involved when a nation, for the sake of its security, has to make sacrifices beyond what it feels it can really afford. That then, it seems to me, is one of the great problems of the future—the problem of our security, judged not merely as a technical naval problem, but as a problem of national development, of man-power and of industrial power. In both these fields New Zealand has taken and can take a leading part.

I referred to what New Zealand did in regard to the *New Zealand* before the Great War, to what she has done in connection with Singapore since, to what she has done in connection with the upkeep of cruisers here. That is one side of the effort she has made. The other side, and part of the same great problem, is what she has been doing in the recent revision of her tariff and in the direction of Imperial Preference. To me all these are part of one great policy, and I have endeavoured during these months going round the Empire to try, as far as it is in my power, to bring out the connection of all these matters—Trade, Migration, Research, Social Reform, Defence. It is all one problem which we can none of us solve single-handedly, but which, if we can only get together, with a clear vision of what we mean to do, we can solve easily in our own time.

I shall go back from this tour hoping possibly that I may have said things that have been of use in one part of the Empire or another, but still more with the knowledge that I have learned things which will enable me to

put the same truth more effectively and more clearly before my fellow-countrymen at home in Great Britain. For, after all, while we have agreed, and gladly agreed, to the new principles of equality of status within the Empire, I think no one will dispute the fact that the main task of leadership, the main obligation to show the way, the power to do it, will for many years yet, rest on that wonderful little Old Country which is still the power-house, both materially and, I think, in ideas, of the whole Empire. It is not for me to predict what my colleagues, what the Parliament to which I belong, what the electorate on which we are dependent, may decide. But at any rate I can say this, that I believe that on all these issues our vision is a clearer and a wider one than it ever was before, and that, having once grasped the vision, we shall, slowly perhaps at the beginning, but with the certainty and the obstinacy which has always characterized our people, act and follow that action to its conclusion.

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XXVI. CANADIAN CLUB LUNCHEON, VICTORIA, B.C.

JANUARY 7TH, 1928

Mr. President, Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen,—You have welcomed me with true Canadian kindliness to this beautiful city, the capital of your great and rich Province. I have in the last few months visited many beautiful capitals of the Empire—Cape Town, nestling beneath the mighty cliffs of Table Mountain, Sydney spreading round the inlets of its spacious harbour, Hobart, Auckland, Wellington, Dunedin—but I think here in Victoria you have a city which for beauty of situation can compare with any of these, situated at the end of this fair Island, girt round by the sea, with its background of the noble Olympic Range ever before your eyes. Here Victoria lies, guarding the western gateway of Canada and reminding one who, like myself, comes from great Dominions across that Pacific Ocean, which is becoming year by year a more central, a more important part of the world, that Canada, too, is a great Pacific Power, and that if from the storied gateway of the St. Lawrence she looks back across the Atlantic to that older world from which she drew her civilization, her tradition, and in which she is still deeply interested, she also looks across the Pacific upon her future destiny.

Thinking of the future, I would say that the reason that led me to travel round the Empire at this particular time was above all a desire to see for myself the conditions, to learn and understand the ideas and thoughts of my fellow-citizens in the Empire at the opening of a new era in Imperial relations. The old era of Colonial development, which began nearly one hundred years ago with Lord

Durham's report, and with the beginnings of self-government in Canada, came to a close in the struggle of the Great War. In that titanic contest each one of the Dominions, as well as Great Britain, put forward an effort and made sacrifices which revealed for the first time in all their clearness the facts of a new situation, and made it evident, not only to us of the British Commonwealth but to the world outside, that a group of new and great nations had sprung up in the world. The peace settlement of Versailles, which confirmed the growth or the coming into existence of new nations in Europe, also confirmed the fact that yet newer nations—some of them destined to a far greater future—had also come into recognition within the bosom of the British Empire, and had come into that recognition, through a war no doubt, but not by strife and hatred and division but by the growth of the principles of freedom animating a great Commonwealth.

What was begun in the Versailles Treaty was carried out in all its implications at the last Imperial Conference. That Conference, therefore, remains a great landmark in the constitutional development of the Empire. In one sense there was nothing new in the conclusions to which we came, nothing that could not have been foreseen by any student of Imperial affairs for a good many years past, nothing indeed that was not implicit in the very first grant of self-government in Canada ninety years ago. But though the Imperial Conference marks no departure from the road along which British freedom has travelled in all these years, it was yet a great historic event. It was so because of the very simplicity and clearness with which our conclusions were framed. We framed them, not as laying down new principles, not as inaugurating a new constitution for the British Empire. All we professed to do was to sum up clearly the situation as it existed. That has been done more than once before in British history. Neither Magna Charta nor the Declaration of Rights professed to lay down a new constitution. Each professed to lay down clearly what was the accepted view of free men about their

constitution: but in doing so on each occasion a great landmark was set up, and I believe the same will be said in history of the conclusions to which we came in London just a year ago.

It may be asked, what were those conclusions? Apart from details, what was the essence of them? The first conclusion was in the nature of a declaration of rights, a declaration of freedom and equality. The Conference laid down with absolute unanimity the principle that, as between the free self-governing nations of the Empire, there was no subordination of any one to any other, and no limitation upon the freedom of any one. There is no power of government, no function of national life, internal or external, that Canada is not as free to exercise as Great Britain is free to exercise it. Canada is no more subordinate to Great Britain than Great Britain is subordinate to Canada. The principle of freedom was laid down with unmistakable clearness and accepted with absolute and unhesitating unanimity by all of us. The question we have to ask ourselves is: What use do we propose to make of this freedom? Are we to use it in order to pursue each a narrow and selfish policy, disregarding the interest and welfare of the other partners in the Empire, shutting up ourselves in a watertight compartment and ignoring the wider interests for which we are all trustees? Is Great Britain to treat the Imperial Conference as an excuse for no longer taking an interest in the affairs of the Dominions, no longer concerning herself with their welfare or with their safety? Is Canada to treat the Imperial Conference as a reason for confining all her interests to her own territory, or within the range of this continent, and for ignoring all those wider interests of a world-wide Empire, which is her Empire, Canada's Empire, just as much as it is Great Britain's Empire?

To that question the Imperial Conference itself provided the answer. The same governing sentence which laid down so clearly the equal freedom of our Commonwealth laid down no less clearly, and with the same unanimity,

that the free and equal nations of the British Commonwealth live united under a common Crown. What does that mean? It means that, if from one point of view, the British Empire consists of nations, Parliaments, Governments, each, within their own sphere, working in absolute freedom and without subordination of any one to any other or to any federal constitution outside themselves, yet from another aspect the British Empire is one body corporate of subjects of the King, subjects of a common Crown, bound together by a common loyalty to that Crown and all that it stands for, and in virtue of that fact bound together in a common loyalty to each other, owing helpfulness, understanding and support to each other. That Crown is an integral part of the national life and of the constitution of each one of our nations. The relationship between each of the nations is not such as once loosely linked Great Britain to Hanover, when Great Britain and Hanover happened to have the same person as King but with separate Crowns, with no link that made King George's Hanoverian subjects British subjects or King George's British subjects subjects of the Kingdom of Hanover. With us the Crown is not an accidental personal link: it is the same Crown which is an integral part of every constitution in the Empire.

In virtue of that fact our nations, free as they are, are each of them composed of citizens who are subjects of the same Crown and owe loyalty to each other. Our Parliaments are composed of members who take the oath of allegiance to the same King and in consequence, while bound in the first instance to consider the immediate concern of their own electorates and their own nation, have also always to bear in mind, in whatever they do or leave undone, the wider common interests to which their oath of allegiance binds them. The Ministers who direct the affairs of our Governments are each of them also servants of the Crown, and as such fellow-servants, colleagues one to the other —a fact which those who have taken part in an Imperial Conference will realize only too well. They know the sense of colleagueship, of service in a great common cause

and in a common task, which animates the King's Ministers from whatever part of the Empire they come when they meet in council together. It is that which makes the Empire not a thing external to any one of our nations, not an overlordship from without limiting our freedom, reducing us in some sense to a provincial status, but, like the Kingdom of Heaven, something within us, a part of our own national life, an expansion, an enhancement of the dignity and importance as well as of the responsibility of our national life. And in that sense, the Resolutions of the last Imperial Conference, if they have recognized, without qualification and without limitation, the national freedom of the Dominions, have recognized it as the freedom not of ordinary nations but of Imperial nations, of nations imperial in their traditions, in the sense of their destiny, and in the sense of their responsibilities.

How then are we to fulfil those responsibilities and those ideals? How are we in the new era of free co-operation to build up the British Empire as we mean it to be in the future? What of the method of our co-operation? There was a time when many thinkers, looking at what the United States had done, looking at what Canada herself had done, believed that that unity could be most effectively secured by some form of federation. The practical instinct of all of us, in spite of the logical cogency of that conclusion, resisted it, and we have decided—and I think wisely—that we could not, in our day at any rate, frame a federal constitution that would fit the conditions of the British Empire, but that we must work in free co-operation. We have taken as our basis not the establishment of some separate over-riding Government above us all, but the assumption that, while the Governments of every part of the Empire enjoy an unlimited freedom and unlimited authority, they can yet make freedom harmonious with unity if only they can keep in sufficiently close touch with each other.

It is by the method of consultation, of personal meeting, of understanding each other's problems, that we have to work. The Imperial Conference has given the clue which

we must follow, and certainly as one who has taken part in many Conferences, I can assure you that, when the statesmen of the Empire meet round the same table, without the slightest impairment of the freedom or the rights of their separate nations, they yet form a united body capable of common decisions and of common conclusions and arriving at a unity of spirit, which they can then communicate to their several peoples. The several Parliaments and peoples of the Empire decide, but if the spirit is one, if personal intercourse, personal understanding enable us to think as one, then there is no difficulty in acting as one if ever the need should arise. Future developments will make it easier, no doubt, for that intercourse to increase. The wireless telephone, the airship, all the developments of science, will make it possible for conferences to meet more frequently than they have done in the past, and will make possible that going to and fro of public men within the Empire, which I believe to be no less important than formal conferences themselves. It is certainly that belief which induced my colleagues to spare me from the work of the British Cabinet for these months during which I have been travelling round the great Dominions.

But the unity of the Empire in this respect is not a matter for politicians and public men only; it is a matter for every citizen to be interested, not only in the affairs of his own province, his own country, but in the affairs of the whole Empire, to endeavour to learn about them, to visit, if he or she can, other parts of the Empire, to welcome and befriend those who come from other parts of the Empire to the country where they live themselves. The unity of the Empire, based on free units each composed of free peoples, must rest in the last resort, not with statesmen but with the peoples themselves.

What of the subject matter of our co-operation? That, ladies and gentlemen, is a far wider field than I could attempt to cover this afternoon. It covers such great issues as those of Defence and Foreign Policy. In that field, working on traditional British lines, we shall develop our

methods of co-operation as we go on. While, in principle, each Government of the Empire has an equal right to the conduct of all foreign affairs and an equal responsibility in Imperial Defence, yet we know that as a matter of practice and convenience the major portion of the burdens of defence, and of the responsibility for conducting foreign affairs, will rest for a long time yet with the British Government, while the great tasks of development are being conducted mainly in the Dominions. But we can go on by mutual consultation, by common consent and common agreement, and in perfect freedom in working out our methods.

A field that interests us all, even more perhaps than that of Defence or Foreign Policy, is the field of trade and development. We have all made great sacrifices, we have all got to rebuild our economic structure. More than that, we have all got an immense and undeveloped heritage which it is our duty to develop. My belief is that if we attempt the task of development each in his own watertight compartment, each limited by the peculiar character of his resources, we shall make comparatively slow progress. If, on the other hand, we work together, if in some sense we pool the infinite variety of our resources, use our various markets each to strengthen the other; if, in addition to whatever we may do, each of us, to look after our own home market, we are able in co-operation to build a wider home market for all of us, to use those economic energies which each country gives out when it makes its purchases from outside, in order to create new economic energies in the Empire which will come back to it in fuller measure and in a short space of time, then we shall make infinitely more progress than we could in any other way.

Here in Canada you have ever before you the example of your great neighbour to the south, of the immense structure of agricultural and industrial development, of the prosperity which they have built up. We cannot imitate their precise methods—the structure of the Empire does not lend itself to that—but we can imitate the spirit in

which they have thrown themselves into the development of their heritage. And we can say that if we look at the extent of that heritage and of that Empire which, as I said before, is Canada's Empire and not only Britain's Empire, of those resources which we can draw upon, there is no reason why our development in the generation before us should not match—aye, and more than match—that of our great neighbours.

Our co-operation is concerned not merely with material things. The British Empire is not merely a partnership for defensive security, not merely a partnership for economic development: it is a partnership of the spirit, for the development of all that is best and finest in all its peoples. In the building up of that co-operation, what a prospect lies before us! I believe that we are now only at the beginning of our greatest period. If you look back upon British history, the great periods have been those which have followed upon some great and hard effort. The struggle for religious freedom and constitutional freedom against Spain was followed by all the glories of Elizabethan literature and all the development of the period that followed. The long conflict with Napoleonic France, after a period of depression, was followed, not only by all that flowering of British literature, British science, British art, that marked the beginning and middle of the last century, but also by the immense colonizing expansion, and by the immense material development of Victorian Britain. For the British Empire —the youngest thing in the world and the most hopeful —its greatest day is now beginning. The efforts and sacrifices which were made were not made in Britain only, but made in each one of the great Dominions, and are going to see their return in great development,—material development, spiritual development, artistic development—in every part of the Empire; and in all these things, working together, we shall achieve far more than any one of us could ever achieve separately, not only in virtue of our co-operation, but because that co-operation embodies a greater, a finer ideal than we have ever had to work for before.

XXVII. CITY TEMPLE, VICTORIA, B.C.

JANUARY 8TH, 1928

Dr. Davis, Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you for the kindly terms in which you have introduced me to this great audience, and I appreciate particularly your references to that great city of Birmingham, of which we are both proud to be fellow-citizens, a city which has not only stood in the forefront of every Imperial movement, but has also stood in the forefront of every educational and social effort for progress in the Old Country, a city where indeed Imperialism and social reform are regarded not as inconsistent but as essentially complementary things, different aspects of one great endeavour for the betterment of man.

I was asked by Dr. Davis to say something to you to-night about the meaning of the words "British Empire." There are certain obvious facts about that Empire which we all know. We know that it is in extent by far the greatest Empire in the world. It covers more than 14,000,000 square miles; more than four times the area of the United States. It extends right round the world. It extends from where Canada's outlying islands almost touch the North Pole to where the Falklands Antarctic territory and New Zealand's Ross Sea Dependency meet each other at the Southern Pole. It embraces something like a quarter of mankind—450,000,000 people of every race, of every colour, of every creed, at every conceivable stage of development from the highest civilization known to mankind down to the simplest and most primitive barbarism. It has a wonderful history—a story of development and peaceful progress, a story of the growth of

freedom, a story of struggles at home and abroad for what Englishmen have thought right, of expansion across the seas; a wonderful story which it would take far too long to relate. Its citizens are organized in every conceivable form of government, from that free responsible government with which we here in Canada and Britain are familiar, which is the highest development of ordered freedom that the world has yet seen, down to the direct control exercised in the most backward countries. You are right in saying, Dr. Davis, that if I attempted to give you only a slight idea of the infinite variety and complexity of the different systems of governments in the Empire, of the different conditions under which the subjects of the King live, I might only confuse you and bewilder you, and possibly confuse and bewilder myself. Certainly no man can be more conscious of that infinite variety than one who is not only responsible for dealing on behalf of the British Government with the other free partner governments in the Empire, but who also, as Colonial Secretary, is directly responsible for the administration of some forty different Governments scattered all round the world, and who has now been spending month upon month travelling through one great Dominion, one great Continent after another.

The question which, after all, you will ask yourselves is not so much, What is the area of the British Empire? what is its population? what are its forms of government? —all these things you can get out of books of reference —but rather, What is the meaning of it all? What purpose does it stand for in the development of mankind? What is it about the British Empire that makes it worth defending, worth developing, worthy of our affection, of our devotion and of our sacrifice? It is to that question that I should like to give, at any rate, a partial answer. I would say that the British Empire, under all the infinite variety and complexity of its organization is yet a very simple and easily intelligible thing, if we can find the right clue to it, not by looking at all its outward manifestations, at its material aspect, but by searching for the underlying prin-

ciples, for the spirit of which it is the embodiment. I would suggest that the British Empire is, after all, only the translation into outward shape, under infinitely varied external circumstances, of the British character, and of certain principles of social life and of government which have become an integral part of that character, and which, first evolved on British soil, have since spread widely over the world.

Let me indicate what seem to me to be some of the leading features of that character, and some of the guiding principles which have moulded and shaped that character in the Old Country. One of the first, which has undoubtedly played a great part in the building up of the Empire, is the love of adventure, the love of exploration, the thirst for colonization. We must never forget that Britain was, after all, itself our first oversea colony. Our forefathers, Angles and Saxons, Danes and Normans, came across the seas as adventurers, traders, pirates sometimes, conquerors, colonizers, to create their first oversea Dominion in Britain. That spirit of adventure lay dormant for some centuries. But a new impulse came with the great movement of thought, the stirring of the spirit in the days of the Renaissance and the Reformation. Following, but soon surpassing their competitors from other lands, our explorers, settlers, traders, proceeded in an unending succession from Elizabethan times down to our own to make the British Empire—men who explored the great oceans, Drake and Gilbert, Frobisher, Hudson, Cook, Vancouver, to mention but a few; great explorers by land, men like Alexander Mackenzie, to whom you owe it that British Columbia to-day is a part of the British Empire and not of the United States; Mungo Park or Livingstone who opened up the Dark Continent of Africa; exiles for the sake of some principle of faith or politics, like the Pilgrim Fathers, like the United Empire Loyalists in Canada; adventurous colonists streaming across the seas to Canada, to Australia, to New Zealand, to South Africa, leaving everything behind them in the confident belief that

their right arm could carve them out a better home across the seas than that which they had in Britain; great administrators, men like Clive and Warren Hastings in India, like Sir Frederick Lugard in Africa; men who sought their fortune in commerce in every corner of the world. One could give an almost endless list of examples from Canada alone, such a man for instance as Lord Strathcona, who came out a poor boy from Scotland and helped to make no small part of the great Dominion which he so long represented afterwards in London. There are not a few in this very building whose fortunes have been shaped, and who have risen to high positions of one sort or another in this great Dominion, who came here as boys almost, led by the love of adventure, from the Old Country. That is one aspect of the British Empire and one that is worth remembering, because I believe that spirit is still as alive as ever it was. The same stir of hope, of courage, of youthful endeavour, still sends forth its swarms year after year, whether it be from Great Britain or from the settled parts of Canada, to go out into new regions, to build new homes, to create prosperity, to create civilization where there has only been a wilderness in the past.

There has been another aspect coupled with that love of adventure, and that is, the British love of order and efficient organization. That is a characteristic of our people that we owe to the Norman Conquest. We owe it not least to some of those very remarkable men, the early Norman Kings, William the Conqueror, Henry II, Edward I, that England, far earlier than the other countries of Europe, enjoyed a unified and efficient government. For centuries after the Norman Conquest France and most of the other European countries suffered under the anarchy of a feudal system, where every local baron or count was an authority to himself, defying the King's government, defying the country's laws. We, long ages before the rest of Europe, enjoyed order, enjoyed national unity under a strong and effective government, capable of enforcing the laws, possibly by means which may seem harsh and tyran-

nical to-day but which, at any rate, brought a habit of domestic peace, of unity, of order, that sank deep into the British character. Amid all the development of freedom that has gone on during the centuries, whether at home or abroad, nothing is more characteristic of our people than their hatred of lawlessness and anarchy. You find that as strong in the youngest settled British Dominion as you find it in the Old Country itself. More than that, it is that same instinct for order and organization which, when Britishers have been brought either through trade or settlement into contact with ill-organized peoples, civilizations that have broken down or primitive barbarisms, has so often led them to extend the Empire, not for mere love of power or conquest, but from the desire to put an end to disorder, to get rid of corruption, to get rid of oppression, to bring law and order, freedom and reasonable progress. It is that spirit which built up in some two centuries that amazing British Empire in India with its 330,000,000 of people, an Empire whose story—I know with some dark chapters—is yet a wonderful tribute to the unselfish devotion as well as to the organizing power of a long series of British administrators, some famous in history and many others who have done their work and built their share of the great edifice but are unknown to fame; anarchy swept away, brigandage abolished, every kind of barbarous abuse put an end to; order, progress, development, all these things laying the foundations of a new India and making possible that new national movement in India which is sometimes so impatient to reject British advice and to shake itself free from British control.

We have had the same task of restoring ancient prosperity, of freeing the poor man from misgovernment and oppression to enjoy the fruits of his labour in peace, in a country like Egypt. I have seen it carried on by a handful of young British officials under a few older advisers in these last few years since the War in countries like Palestine and Iraq. I have seen regions desert only a few years ago, pestilential swamps, such as the great Plain of Megiddo

was for centuries before the Great War, now waving with wheat-fields, and studded with prosperous villages; I have seen Mesopotamia—once the world's granary, the centre of one of the greatest civilizations of the world, to which our own has owed very much, broken down by conquest after conquest, its canals destroyed, its economic and political organization shattered, a derelict barbarous country for centuries under the Turkish yoke—being organized and developed, a country where men and women can travel in peace and security from one end to another, where the peasant is beginning again to make use of land that had been untouched for centuries, where old canals are being reopened, where the mineral resources of the country are being developed, where the old spirit of the Arab nation, once in the forefront of the world, is reviving under an Arab government enjoying British advice and guidance.

The same organizing work is taking place right through Africa. Over vast areas slavery, cannibalism, tribal warfare have been abolished and peace established. And more than peace. There was a time when we thought our duty as a colonial administration was satisfied if we preserved law and order, and enabled the trader to carry on his work peacefully. To-day we have a much higher conception of our task. Britain's colonial administration to-day in Africa and in many backward colonies is not a mere matter of law and order; it is a task of sanitation, of health policy, of child welfare policy, of educational policy, of agricultural policy, of railway policy, of an endeavour in every direction to make the best not only of the material resources of those great and rich countries but of their human resources, however backward and primitive their inhabitants may be at the moment. It was once said of a certain race of conquerors that they made solitude and called it peace. I think we can claim for British administration in many a backward land that we have not only brought peace, but that we have brought peace as something life-giving and creative, something that has made the wilderness blossom like a garden. "Pax Britannica" is not a negative but a

very positive and beneficent thing for those countries which have welcomed it after centuries of confusion and anarchy and war.

And, after all, it is not the least of the achievements of the British Empire that it stands for permanent peace, whether by control or by the common consent of its free partner governments, between 450,000,000 of people, living in every part of the world, with different economic interests, different outlook, different race or religion or civilization. Between all these peoples war is unthinkable. It is assumed to be unthinkable from the first, and if there are differences—take, for instance such a difference as a little time ago was settled between Canada and Newfoundland as regards the great territory of Labrador—they are settled not by the arbitrament of war but by a fair and impartial consideration of all the facts. That is in itself a wonderful thing. We have seen in recent years the creation of a League of Nations, aimed at avoiding war between the nations who belong to it. That is a fine ideal, and the League is an instrument which may well serve, as it grows in strength and efficiency, to play its part in the maintenance of that ideal. But the British League of Nations starts where the other League of Nations leaves off. It assumes peace among ourselves, and on that foundation we can co-operate for mutual welfare, mutual benefit, mutual development.

I have dealt with one leading feature of the British polity and of the British character, the love of order and efficient organization. But our love of effective government has never been an acceptance of arbitrary government. One thing the Norman conquerors learnt from their stubborn English subjects, was that they might govern as strongly and effectively as they wished, but they had to govern in accordance with the law of the land. I do not know if any of you have read that very remarkable book of Professor Dicey's on the Reign of Law, in which he points out that the thing which distinguished the whole English system from the system of government everywhere

on the Continent was that, whereas everywhere else the law was an instrument of the Government, and the members of the Government a law unto themselves and above the law, the English conception has always been that whatever might be the powers of the King and of his Ministers and servants, they were always exercised within the law and under the law, and that whatever the law might be, every citizen had the same rights under that law. That is a principle which extends to every part of the British Empire whatever its form of government may be, however backward its peoples. The humblest peasant in an Indian village, the cannibal native in the bush of West Africa, is entrenched behind the law against the arbitrary power of any official, more securely perhaps than the citizen of many great European communities to-day. The reign of law is one of the great features of British life, an essential part of our whole conception of liberty, which is that no Government, whether monarchy, or oligarchy or democracy based on the widest suffrage, can claim a purely arbitrary power; whatever it does it must do in accordance with the law of the land and within the law.

I pass from that to another, perhaps even more characteristic feature of the whole British polity, and that is love of freedom. I need not detain you to-night by dwelling upon the long story of how British freedom has broadened down from precedent to precedent throughout the centuries; how we developed, as indeed other European countries developed, in the Middle Ages, the system of representation through which the people of the country could make their wishes known to the Sovereign and his Ministers; how that system gradually became one under which no law could be passed, no moneys voted, unless the representatives of the nation concurred in those laws and approved of that expenditure. Then you get at last that fullest development of British freedom which we know as responsible government, the system under which the King's Ministers, the men who carry out the executive government of the country, are responsible not only to the Sovereign above

them but to Parliament, and so to the nation; a system under which the government of the country is kept continually in touch with the ideas and wishes and purpose of Parliament, and through Parliament, of the nation. It is that latest development of all—responsible government—which, we believe, makes for greater freedom, for a more responsible and ordered freedom, for a higher political development, here in Canada than exists across the frontier, in the great kindred nation which separated itself from us before the system of responsible government had yet found its full and free development.

It was our own spirit of freedom carried across the seas which led to that separation, and we, confronted by that spirit, lacked the patience, the wisdom, and, above all, the knowledge derived from our own domestic experience to deal with the problem. At a later stage of our own political evolution, we found the solution of that problem in making responsible self-government not merely the right and privilege of the people of Britain, but the right and privilege of British people wherever they dwell. That development of responsible freedom found its final culmination, at any rate as regards the relations between the Dominions and the Mother Country, at the last Imperial Conference, where by the unanimous consent of all the Governments represented we laid down that there was no limit to the freedom of every one of us, that no one of us was in any sense subordinate or inferior to any other, or had our powers and functions limited in any sense by the overlordship of any other part of the Empire. That is the end, in one sense, of the development of constitutional relations between Britain and the Dominions. In another sense—the sense of free co-operation—it is the beginning of a new era and of a new chapter in our history.

Meanwhile, the same principles apply, in so far as the conditions permit it, to every other part. It is not our conception of British freedom that it is reserved for people of our race or of the white race alone, and that people of

other races must for ever live under bureaucratic control. On the contrary, throughout the Empire, there is a gradual development—it must necessarily be gradual: anyone who knows the conditions realizes that—in representation, in responsibility, in training for self-government. India has our pledge that she is to advance on that path. No doubt the advance will take many years, but nothing can change the fact that we have entered with her upon a course of development whose ultimate aim is responsible self-government for the peoples of India.

If I may add one other feature besides that of freedom, it is one inevitably developed in the workings of a free constitution, and that is the spirit of toleration, the spirit of give and take, of understanding the people who differ from you on a political issue, of recognizing that they may conceivably be right, or are at any rate entitled to be wrong if they will. That spirit has been of immense importance in the growth of the Empire. The British Empire has grown so easily, has been accepted so easily by peoples very different from our own, largely because wherever we have gone we have not tried to overthrow existing institutions but have accepted them, have developed them, have endeavoured to get rid of what was contrary to our ideas of morality or of civilization, but have otherwise let things alone rather than change them. The contrast, for instance, between British government in West Africa, which is largely government through the native chiefs on traditional lines which have grown up throughout the centuries through Mohammedan and native law, and French government next door, where everything native is eliminated and the methods and principles of French government introduced, is a very striking one. That same characteristic has also contributed no little towards keeping the Empire together. We could never hold together if we were not tolerant of each other, ready to take account of each other's differences and point of view. That readiness to see the other man's point of view is, I believe, no less essential a feature of the external policy of the British Empire. We have had our

wars and struggles. But on the whole the foreign policy of Britain has been one that has aimed first and above all at preserving our own peace, secondly at preserving peace among other nations, because we believe that the peace of the world is for our benefit as well as for that of others, and has succeeded largely because those who have conducted it have thought not only of what we wanted to secure, but also of what were the ambitions and ideals of other nations and how far we could accommodate our policy to theirs.

I have dealt with certain principles of policy or aspects of the British character. There is one thing that perhaps lies deeper than all these, and that is that the Englishman's outlook, and the outlook of the British Empire on all its problems, has, in the main, been a moral, and, if I may say so, in a broad sense a religious one. We have never been a proselytizing nation. We have never set out to extend our government in order to convert others, by force or persuasion, to our point of view in religion. Missionaries have played a great and noble part in the building up of the Empire. But ours has never been a missionary Empire in the sense that the Spanish Empire was a missionary Empire, or even in the sense that the French Empire in Canada in old days was a missionary Empire. At the same time the essential spirit of Christianity, the moral outlook, the endeavour to realize the value of every man's life, to recognize the rights of others as well as our own, have influenced our dealings with other nations and, above all, with the peoples who have been our subjects. Whatever failings may have sometimes accompanied our rule, it is, I think, true to say that Britain, both in Parliament and through her administrators, has regarded her goverment over other peoples as a trusteeship, and has endeavoured to live up to the spirit of that trusteeship.

I have attempted to analyse what seem to me to be the chief features that have created and made the British Empire. It has been the outcome of an adventurous, roving spirit in war and in peace, in exploration, in commerce; the outcome of a love of order and of efficiency and

of progress, a sense of justice, a love of freedom and toleration and fair play, which has made the Empire an acceptable home for many other peoples besides our own; and, above all, it has been shaped by a point of view which has thought not in material terms only, but in terms of right and wrong. It is, in the last resort, not merely a material thing but a thing of the spirit, and therefore, imperfect though it may have been in many ways, I think Lord Rosebery was well justified when he once described it as the greatest secular agency for good known to mankind. Such an institution is, I think, worth maintaining. I think it is worth defending. Certainly, when danger came thirteen years ago, from every end of the world members of that Empire stepped forward, freely and unasked, to give their lives to defend it. If it was worth defending, I believe it is still more worth developing and improving. If the British Empire is a finer thing to-day than it was a century or two ago, I believe it can be made not only richer and greater and stronger, but a finer thing spiritually in the future. For us it can be made our "city of God on earth," worth building up, worth working for. It is from that point of view that all of us, whatever our occupation in life, whether engaged in public affairs or playing our part in trade and commerce, in the ordinary life of our city and of our country, can each contribute our share to the building up of the Empire, can dedicate ourselves to its service, feeling that we are doing something that is well worth while, feeling that the ordinary life that we lead, the business that we carry on, the duty we have to our family, to our city or to our country, have all behind them the background of a greater purpose. If I may use in a wider application the great lines of Blake that must be so familiar to you all, we should say when we think of the British Empire:

> "I will not cease from mental fight,
> Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
> Till we have built Jerusalem
> In England's green and pleasant land."

XXVIII. VANCOUVER BOARD OF TRADE DINNER, VANCOUVER.

JANUARY 9TH, 1928

I need not hesitate, in addressing an audience of business men in one of the great seaports of the Empire, and therefore interested in a peculiar degree not only in the internal economic life of Canada, but also in that external economic life which is so essential a complement of your internal development, if I speak to you to-night about the possibilities of the economic development of the British Empire. You may ask the question: What is it that we of the British Empire have got to develop? What are the assets in our possession? To attempt to enumerate them in any detail would involve a long and perhaps wearisome discourse. I will attempt to summarize them in a few sentences, just drawing attention to some of the main constituent elements of which this Empire of ours is composed. You have in the first place those vast and only partially-developed territories which are capable of sustaining a great white civilization, peopled by our race, climatically suited to the development of our people and of our institutions. Taking that element of the Empire alone—an element capable of every development, primary and industrial—you have in Canada, in the great island continent of Australia, in New Zealand, and in the great sub-continent of South Africa, an area two-and-a-half times as large as the United States and with resources, undeveloped, dormant, fully two-and-a-half times as great. You have again that immense Empire of India with some 330,000,000 of people, people of an ancient civilization, living, it may be, to-day on a comparatively poor standard of life and

backward in their industrial development, yet already among the world's greatest producers of many primary products and capable, as their standard of living is raised, as their skill and productive power is increased, of becoming an infinitely more important factor in the world's economic development than they are to-day. You have another element in the Empire, of which perhaps very little is known here in Canada, for after all not too much of it is known even in Britain, that comparatively new element which for convenience I might call the "Colonial Empire" —the Island Colonies, the great Colonies and Protectorates in the African Continent—a vast tropical region of several million square miles with something like 50,000,000 of people and with a trade already exceeding $2,500,000,000 a year, doubling itself every ten years or so. There again is a region of development essentially tropical, an ever-growing market for the industries of the northern zone, a region which should be of very special economic interest to Canada.

Last, but not least, there is one other element in the Empire—I mean that little Island off the north coast of Europe which has played so large a part in the Empire's history in the past. Believe me, that little Island is not done with yet. I need not remind you of the mighty effort it put forward in the Great War, of how on sea or land, in its banks and factories, it was the mainstay from first to last of the Allied cause. But memories are short, and there is an idea abroad in many parts of the world, fostered possibly by our own habit of always criticizing ourselves, that that was an expiring effort, and that since then all the energy, the marvellous initiative, the stubbornness, we showed in that great contest have vanished, that we are taking our reduction to a secondary place in the world lying down, and that our people are mainly occupied in drawing doles from each other. Things in reality are very different from that picture. We have had to have recourse to very unusual expedients in order to meet a very difficult economic crisis, but we are as a matter of

fact employing more people in Britain to-day than we ever did in the past. Our great industries are better organized and I believe more efficient. We are very far from taking the economic situation lying down, or from being incapable in the future of taking a leading part and finding either the capital or the organizing ability, or the brain and sinew required for the work of development in the British Empire.

Take then all those resources of the Empire together; take them as material resources, take them in terms of man-power, of population, of ability, of business experience, of financial experience—I venture to think, certainly from the latter point of view, that we need not fear comparison with anyone. Taking the material resources of the British Empire, at any rate, I think it is not boasting but merely stating elementary facts to point out that those resources, developed and still to be developed, are at least four times as great as those of the United States.

When we come to the question of what we have done to develop those resources, then I think we must frankly admit that we have been left behind to a large extent by our neighbours. The United States, in the last generation or two, have developed the resources of their great territory to a point which makes them to-day, as you here in Canada know so well, the greatest economic force in the world. They have more railways than all the world together; they consume in industry more horse-power, whether steam or electric or oil-driven, than the rest of the world. They have four times as many motor-cars as the rest of the world. They have built up an amazing fabric of economic power.

You may ask: How does it come about that they have developed their heritage so much more rapidly than we have? I would suggest that the answer is this: that in their forty-eight States they have devoted all their resources, all their ability, all their thought, to the common development of the whole. They have not worked in watertight compartments, each State having to rely upon its own

market only, and having its development in any direction crippled and limited either by the smallness of its own market or by the uncertainty of foreign markets. What they have done is to pool their markets in one great home market which has enabled each State to develop to the utmost each one of its resources, knowing that there was always an ample market outside its own borders, knowing that there was an ample source of capital to draw upon for that development, knowing that it was working not single-handedly but in a great co-operative effort in which its expenditure in the rest of the States came back to itself in the expenditure of those other States upon its own development.

We, on the other hand, it seems to me, have worked far too much in watertight compartments, each thinking only of our immediate local problem, each failing to realize how immensely our own home market would be strengthened if we could call upon the wider home market of the Empire and be sure that it was in large measure at our disposal, each inclined—I know we in the Old Country have been more to blame in that respect than anyone else—to regard external trade with comparative indifference as to where it came from, equally ready to expend the energizing force of our consumption on the strengthening of those outside our family, as on the strengthening of those within the family whose expenditure would strengthen us in turn. It is my belief that *there* lies the source of the relative slowness of our development, and that instead of linking up all the creative energies of our markets into a system that works together and continues to use those energies again and again within the same circle, like the energies harnessed in a steam-engine, we have each largely dissipated our energies, like the steam in a kettle, upon the world outside.

I know it will be said that it is not possible for the British Empire to follow the example of the United States. For one thing the critics will suggest that the United States are one compact continental block of territory, grid-

ironed by its railways and therefore forming a natural unit for trade, whereas the British Empire is scattered all over the oceans of the world. I do not think I need spend much time before an audience in a great maritime port like Vancouver in demolishing that objection. You know as well as I do that there is no form of transport in the world that can compare for cheapness and efficiency with transport by sea, and that the oceans, so far from dividing the British Empire from the point of view of trade, are its most effective link.

Let me take another objection, that the United States are a single polity, and that they can thus have a single tariff and free trade within that tariff. That is not the situation which we either could, or would, reproduce. I readily admit that the conditions in the British Empire, from the point of view of the standard of living and the point of view of industrial development, are far too diverse to permit of universal internal free trade and a single tariff. The fiscal conditions, too, of each nation within the Empire would preclude any such suggestion, even if there were any nation in the Empire which was prepared to abandon its natural right to control its own fiscal policy and to develop its own industries as it thinks best. But, after all, in order to follow the principle that underlies the great development which is taking place in the United States, it is not essential that we should follow their precise methods.

Let me give you a parallel in the political sphere. There was a time, as many of you no doubt will remember, when those who cared most for Imperial unity were convinced that the only way in which we could achieve it would be in some way or other to follow the American precedent and establish a federal system for the British Empire, demarcating the powers which would be exercised by some Federal Council, leaving the rest to each of the nations within the Empire. We have decided—I think wisely—that no such scheme could possibly, in our time at any rate, fit the varied conditions of the British Empire, but we have

found—and the late Imperial Conference, by the consent and with the approval of every Government there represented, laid down—that it is possible for us to co-operate effectively and be a united Empire, while at the same time every one of its constituent Governments is absolutely free in every respect and subject to no authority outside itself. We have come to the conclusion that the method of free co-operation is better suited to our conditions than the creation of any formal or written federal constitution.

If that is possible in the political sphere it is no less possible in the economic sphere. I believe, without submitting ourselves to the strait jacket of an Imperial tariff, without limiting the right of each nation of the Empire to frame its tariff from the point of view of its own industries and its own development, we can yet find room, ample room, for every form of economic co-operation; and in that sense create that mutual support, that mutual stimulation which in another country is effected by other means. It is not necessary to abandon the right to protect our own industries; it is enough to combine by imperial preference to give each other protection and thus create, as it were, a wider home market in the Empire. There are innumerable ways of co-operating, and the problem for us, as I see it in the years ahead is how, in free partnership, to make that co-operation most fully effective.

I know that some of you here may be thinking that it is all very well for an Englishman to come and say that before a Canadian audience, when after all it has been Great Britain which in the past has been most obstinately opposed to the idea of developing Imperial Preference. It is nearly thirty years since Sir Wilfrid Laurier gave a lead to Great Britain and the Empire by giving, without reciprocity, the first preferential tariff in the Empire. Since then preference has been extended and developed in Canada, in every one of the great Dominions. I admit that we have been slow to move: that is a characteristic of the British people. But it is also one of their characteristics that once they begin moving, once they get hold of a

great idea, they move very surely, and as they move they move with increasing velocity and increasing determination. We are beginning to move. It would be a great mistake to think that Britain stands to-day in these matters where she stood before the War. Before the War it was the avowed policy of Great Britain to declare that it made no difference to her whom she bought from or to whom she sold, and that foreign trade was exactly as good from her point of view as trade within the Empire. That idea is dead and buried in Britain to-day. On that question the War opened our eyes and made us realize what a difference it made to us whom we supported by our trade and what part of the world our settlers went to. During the War, an Imperial Conference for the first time accepted on behalf of the British Government—a Government in which members of every party were represented—the principle that wherever we have a tariff, wherever we impose duties, we should levy those duties on a lower scale, if at all, on the products of the Empire and on a higher scale on the products of your foreign competitors.

I admit that our fiscal system is a narrow one. The range of our duties is small at present, though it is growing year by year. But within the range of those duties we do to-day give preferences which have been of substantial benefit in many parts of the Empire. In the last few months I have seen a new self-governing Colony in the Empire—Southern Rhodesia—going ahead by leaps and bounds, mainly as the result of the British preference on tobacco. I have been in the Murray River Valley in Australia and seen their irrigation settlements, peopled by Australian soldiers and ex-service men from the Old Country, developing, thanks to the preferences we give on dried fruit and wine in the Old Country. I admit that so far these preferences have not been a big factor in Canada's export trade. But they have not been an altogether unimportant factor. Canada sends quite an appreciable volume of tobacco to Great Britain to-day, increasing year by year as the result of our substantial tobacco

preference, and I understand that there are many parts of British Columbia which experience is showing to be peculiarly suited to tobacco growing. The sugar refineries of Eastern Canada send a very large amount of sugar to Britain under the preference every year. Our duties on manufactures are few in number, but they include motor-cars, cameras, musical instruments, a good number of instruments of precision, fine chemicals, and under all these duties Canada has built up quite an important trade, a trade which would never have come to Canada if it had not been for the preference. There is a resulting tendency of American firms to put their works on Canadian soil, a tendency which will be strengthened by every new duty we add in the course of the development of our fiscal system. Those are not altogether unimportant factors. It is not for me to say what Great Britain may or may not do in the years immediately ahead of us, or how rapidly she is going to modify her old tradition, her old fiscal outlook. Modify them she will.

But there are other preferences besides fiscal preferences, and other methods of co-operation. There is one form of preference that is of very great value, and that is voluntary preference—the desire of the consumer to encourage Empire trade rather than foreign trade. That is a very important factor. You, as business men, know very well that in trade just as in everything else, habit and sentiment play a very large part. Men have been accustomed for years to buy through certain channels; there may be goods of equal and better quality at the same or better price to be obtained, but they do not look for them. The goods have to be brought to their notice; their consumers have to press them to change their habits. If that is true anywhere, it is true in a great country like Great Britain, where trade has worked itself into deep grooves. We have laid ourselves out as a Government to counteract that tendency. As our fiscal system is limited from the point of view of preference we have wished to show our eagerness to help Empire trade by setting aside a sum of $5,000,000 a year

—no small expenditure in times of such financial anxiety as those through which we are passing in the Old Country —for the promotion of Empire marketing in the British market.

A great part of that money is being devoted to systematic publicity in favour of Empire production. All the best hoardings in the cities of Great Britain are to-day covered regularly with posters advertising the Empire idea, advertising the idea that it is better for us to buy from our fellow-subjects within the Empire who are our best customers, rather than to buy from foreign nations. We do not push particular products, but we do emphasize what each Dominion can produce, what Canada can produce, what Australia, what South Africa can produce, in order to keep on hammering home this idea. That is having a very considerable influence. I was talking not long ago to the manager of a large retail house in London, who himself is an enthusiast for Empire trade. He told me that in the last two or three years, as a result of the campaign for Empire purchasing, in the case of tinned goods his sales had gone up from 5 per cent. of Empire goods to 55 per cent. of Empire goods. I think that is something the value of which no one can afford to under-estimate. We supplement that pictorial advertising by Press advertising, by organizing Empire shopping weeks in particular towns for a whole week so as to give the tradesmen in the town an opportunity of selling Empire goods and pushing the Empire idea. During those weeks, and in connection with the various exhibitions which we have organized, we give prizes to the grocers or fruiterers or other traders who have the best-dressed window with Empire goods. We have organized a series of exhibitions, and at the British Industries Fair—and some of you know how important that is—we have an Empire Marketing Board exhibit, which was the dominant feature of last year's Fair in London, emphasizing all the time what each part of the Empire can produce. We got a footing in the London Advertising Exhibition in London last year, and we certainly made it

an Empire Advertising Exhibition. We have an Imperial fruit show at which Canadian fruit has had a wonderful success. We are organizing with a view to taking a part next spring in a Building Trades Exhibition, in which we hope to have a special display of all the different kinds of Empire timber, and to bring their quality and their value home to the building trade. We hope next autumn to have a very fine exhibit at the Toronto Exhibition both of what we are doing in the way of publicity and of what we are doing in the way of research.

Let me say that, apart from publicity, we are spending the greater part of our money on something that is even more fundamental. It is no good pushing wares by advertisement, by lectures, or by cinemas, or by Empire shopping weeks alone. The production of the Empire depends enormously on the research behind it. We have organized an Imperial Agricultural Research Conference, which held a very successful first meeting a few months ago. It would weary you if I attempted to enumerate all the various directions in which we are spending money both in Great Britain, and in co-operation with the Governments and institutions all round the Empire, fostering research into conveyance by cold storage across the seas, into animal breeding and the breeding of beneficial insects which may destroy noxious parasites, into the analysis of soils, in order to see why certain pastures fail to support the stock which they apparently ought to support. It is a field of immense interest.

There are one or two instances I might mention in connection with Canada that you may not know of. Let me take a typical instance of the kind of co-operation which we are trying to develop in every direction. As you know, Northern Ireland has an important linen industry. That industry depends largely on the flax grown in Northern Ireland itself. But the climate of Northern Ireland is such that the flax, while it grows well enough for linen, cannot develop a maturing seed. What we are doing to-day is to take a specially selected seed developed in Southern

England, and we are growing it in bulk in Canada, and then send the seed in bulk to Ulster. In other words the research and breeding is done in one part of the Empire; the production of seed in bulk is done in another part of the Empire, and the actual growing of the flax is done in yet another part which is most suitable for the growing of the fibre. Another instance is the co-operation which we are now carrying out with the Ontario Agricultural College in the study of poultry, as to what diet produces the best results—a small matter but one of immense value to every poultry raiser throughout the British Empire. Still more important to Canada is the question of fish production and the fish market. There the Imperial Economic Committee—a body representing all the Empire and advisory to its Governments—has recommended the establishment of special cold storage research stations in Canada and in Great Britain, and we hope to co-operate in that work. We have co-operated with experts from Canada for months past in the systematic study of the causes of wastage and deterioration in Canadian apples in transit from this country to the markets of Great Britain, and I believe that we are on the way to learning many valuable lessons which may be of immense benefit to the orchardist in every part of the Empire.

I give these instances of the kind of work we are doing. The fact that we are setting aside $5,000,000 a year—and all the money which we are unable to spend in any one year is set aside for future expenditure—does, I think, show that we are taking this matter seriously in hand. I do not mean to suggest for a moment that we have gone far enough, but what I do believe is that we are already entering upon the era of Imperial co-operation in economic development. What is even more important, the idea of what British Empire development might mean for every one of its peoples is beginning to sink deep and to fire the imagination of all of us. What we may be able to do for our own country single-handed is a small thing compared with what each of us can do if all our countries

work together, if we can pool our resources in large measure, if we can use the stimulating energy of all our markets to benefit and strengthen each part of the Empire. If we know that the money we spend in our purchases outside is not dissipated and spent on those who do everything in their power to avoid spending it on us in return, but is spent on those who want to trade with us and who believe in trading with us, who believe in it not only for the sake of trade itself but believe in it because it means strength and development for us all—if once that idea gets hold of our peoples, nothing will prevent our carrying it to its conclusion. The last generation has been undoubtedly—from the trade point of view—the generation of the United States. I believe that the coming generation, if we realize our opportunities, if we realize the assets we have to develop, if we have confidence in our ability, is going to be the generation of the British Empire and, not least, as a leading and dominant part in that development, Canada's generation.

XXIX. WOMEN'S CANADIAN CLUB, VANCOUVER.

JANUARY 10TH, 1928

I am very glad to have the opportunity of meeting the better half of Canada. Speaking to the worse half of Canada—or at any rate the worse half of the Canadian Club movement—at lunch to-day, I endeavoured to set out, as it appears to me, the new position of nationhood into which Canada and the other great Dominions have grown—a position of unique privilege, unique freedom, unique opportunity, and unique responsibility. On that theme I spoke at some length, as on the possibilities of co-operation based on the freedom which we enjoy in common. Last night, talking to an audience of business men I endeavoured to suggest how one aspect of that free co-operation could be carried out—the development of our common heritage, of the immense material wealth, of the resources of each of our countries, by mutual co-operation in trade for the good of each and the prosperity of all.

There is another aspect of co-operation which I did not touch upon last night but which is at least equally important. When we talk of development, of extending production, of increasing the acreage under cultivation, of turning the wilderness into a smiling land, you can think of that in terms of trade, but you have also got to think of it in terms of men and women. You cannot bring about a great economic development unless you have population adequate in numbers and in ability to make the fullest use of your opportunities. Nor can you build up a great Imperial nation unless that nation has the fibre and the tradition that will make it great. And while the British

Empire is not one based on racial exclusiveness, not one which regards membership of any race or the use of any language as a term of admission to its freedom and its privileges, yet there can be no doubt that there is no element so useful in strengthening and sustaining the national and Imperial life of a Dominion like Canada as that element which can bring with it in the person of its men and women, and even its children, the heritage of that great and ancient tradition, which is your tradition here in Canada just as much as it is our tradition in Great Britain.

I believe, therefore, that from the point of view of nation-building, whether you regard it from the political point of view or whether you regard it from the point of view of economic development, it is important that Canada, while welcoming to her shores all who are prepared to become good Canadian citizens and play their part in the life of the country, should especially welcome and help those who carry her own tradition, who belong to the old British stock which has laid the foundation of our Empire.

That is a matter on which the attitude of Britain has changed greatly in recent years. There was a time not so long ago when British statesmen regarded it as a matter of entire indifference what happened to those who left the shores of the Mother Country. Whether they went to live under the Union Jack, to build up the strength of the Empire, or whether they went outside to build up the strength of other countries, was supposed to be a matter purely of individual concern, and no affair of the State. As recently as twenty years ago, at an Imperial Conference, a British Cabinet Minister could enunciate that, as a guiding principle of British statesmanship, we made no distinction between our emigrants, as to whether they went abroad or remained under the Flag. The War made us look upon things very differently. We realized that those who went out and remained under the Flag and remained citizens of the Empire, were with us from the first moment of danger from every end of the world. Our brothers came in the first and greatest hour of need, and from the first to the last

day of the War they were with us side by side in the trenches, facing the danger, facing the privations, manning the long thin line and saving civilization from the disaster which would have resulted from a German victory. Others of our race came in the fulness of time; they came after years; indeed, it seemed a fortunate accident almost that they came at all. But those who remained under the Flag were with us from the first. That had a profound influence upon the thought of our people, and since then we have regarded it as a matter concerning Britain where her sons and daughters go, if the spirit of adventure, the desire to seek wider opportunities, leads them to leave their own home.

To-day, as the result of suggestions put forward at an Imperial Conference by Mr. Meighen, then Prime Minister of Canada, we co-operate, and co-operate substantially by money and in other ways, with the other Governments of the Empire in encouraging those who leave our shores to go to Canada and the other Dominions rather than to go to some foreign country, and in giving them, as far as we can, every chance of succeeding. Six years ago I had the privilege of being responsible in Parliament for passing an Act known as the Empire Settlement Act under which the British Government is prepared to contribute up to £3,000,000 a year—$15,000,000—to other Governments and organizations in the Empire. We contribute up to half of the total amount that they are prepared to spend in settlement, in facilitating passages across the oceans, in training, and in every other kind of scheme that can not only cheapen the cost to a settler of establishing himself in Canada, but can increase his chance of succeeding, diminish his chance of failure, reduce the chance of the unfit and the unsuitable coming out here. That policy has been working now for some years, and though the results have perhaps not been on as large a scale as some enthusiastic persons hoped at first, they have been real and substantial. Many tens of thousands of families are happily settled all over the Empire to-day who, but for this co-operation between our various Governments, would still be at home

in less favourable circumstances, with less opportunity for themselves, and certainly with far less opportunity for their children.

In this connection there is one thing I particularly want to make clear, because it is so often misunderstood. The object of the British Government in spending this money in co-operation with the Governments overseas on migration is not to get rid of its own unemployed. Britain's unemployment problem is her own affair. She has got to solve it by the reorganization of her industry and by every practical social reform that can cope with this immense problem. It is no part of Britain's policy to get rid of her own unemployed in order to ease her domestic problem at home, and to add to the domestic and social problems of other countries in the Empire. We have no desire to encourage the unemployed to migrate just because they are unemployed. What we are anxious to do is that those who can find a wider and better opportunity overseas, those who by their temperament, character and physique are likely to make good, should be encouraged to go; that those who are likely to fail should not be encouraged but on the contrary should be discouraged from going. We wish to co-operate in building up the growth of our partner nations in the Empire because we know that that growth is our benefit as well as theirs. We know that their strength is our strength in peace and in war; we know that their prosperity is our prosperity. It is from that broader point of view, from the point of view of strengthening and developing the Empire as a whole, from the point of view of giving every citizen in the Empire, as far as we can, all the best opportunities that the whole Empire offers, that we have entered on this policy of co-operation, and not from a mere narrow idea that we can get rid of some of our own domestic problems by pushing our people out of our country regardless of whether they succeed or fail afterwards.

Of course the success of this policy means much for employment in Great Britain. The Dominions are the best

markets we have in the world, and if we contribute good human material to build up their population, to build up their prosperity, to contribute to their development, a share at any rate of that prosperity comes back to us in trade and increases employment and prosperity with us at home. It is from that point of view and not from the narrower point of view I referred to just now that we regard this whole problem. After all it is on the Governments of the Dominions that we have throughout placed the responsibility of selecting those migrants we consider deserving of assistance, because they know best who are going to succeed and who are going to fail. The last thing we want to do is to encourage some family to break up their home in England in order to go across the seas and then to fail, to sacrifice perhaps their small savings, and then to find that they are doing less well in Canada or Australia than they might have done at home. It is success we want, the success of the individual because that means the success of the whole movement.

That brings me to the point where you are, perhaps, most closely interested, and that is this: this problem of migration and settlement is of course, from one point of view, a great political and economic problem; it is a problem of building up the strength of the nations of the Empire; it is a problem of developing the trade of those nations. From another point of view, it is essentially an individual human problem. You may talk about migration in terms of statistics, of people crossing the seas, of settlers established; of the output of their farms, or of the new factories that grow up. But underlying it all is the fact that every unit in those statistics means some man, some woman, some family, that have made a great decision, have decided to leave their home, their surroundings, all that they have been accustomed to, in order to cross the wide oceans, and start life again under conditions unfamiliar and unknown. That is a great adventure, and those who take part in it, those who cross the seas in order not only to make their careers in Canada, but also to help Canada

to build up its national life, who are prepared to throw in their lot with you, to become citizens of Canada, to contribute all they have of hand and brain and the great tradition that they carry with them for the strengthening and development of Canada—they are worth while your taking an interest in them not merely as additional farm hands or additional labourers in the factory, but as fellow-workers in the making of a great nation.

The greatest help you can give is the interest you take in individual settlers, the welcome you can give them when they come here. Do not forget that after all it is a very new and strange experience to begin life again in another country. The new-comer feels, during the first days and weeks, lost, very helpless, sometimes very shy and awkward; and sometimes, just because he is shy and awkward, aggressive and touchy. He is like a small boy going to school for the first time, possibly very frightened, possibly also determined that he is not going to be "downed" by everybody who takes a high line with him. Those of you who have boys know what a difference it makes if some older boy just gives the kindly word, the helpful smile, the little bit of shrewd advice, that is going to make all the difference to a boy's first term at school. It is just the same with the settlers. Receive them in friendliness because they have come to join Canada. It may make all the difference if you give them a little bit of advice: that costs you so little and may mean so much to them. I know how much is done in Canada already in those ways. It is not in criticism but rather in acknowledgment that I wish to lay stress upon the importance of that side of the whole problem of migration. I have made it a practice to invite those who have gone overseas under the auspices of the British Government to write home and recount their experiences; and I know from letter after letter how they have been impressed when they have come out, to find that their neighbours have come to welcome them, that perhaps a neighbour has made the first meal for the family when they arrive. They have given them useful advice

which has just made the difference in the first few weeks.

I should like to acknowledge to the women of Canada what has been done in that respect for new-comers, and to ask in the true spirit of gratitude for more of the same help and kindliness in future. Some of you know what a difference it made to you when you heard that your sons who had gone overseas, exposed not only to danger but also to temptation, were received and made welcome in English homes. Those other young men who come out to Canada have also left anxious parents behind them across the seas. They, too, are coming out to fight the Empire's battle, to help to build Canada as a great Imperial nation. They, too, are no less worthy of just that little touch of friendship which is going to make so much difference, whether they feel Canada to be home when they come here, or whether they feel it to be a hard and strange country, one which will make them go on regretting they left the old land. No settler who comes to Canada should ever regret his coming. He should keep warm in his heart—he would be unnatural if he did otherwise—his love for the Old Country, and he should teach it to his children. He may perhaps wish, if he has the means and the time, to revisit the familiar, loved scenes of his youth, but he should love Canada as his country and as his home.

XXX. EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, TORONTO.

JANUARY 19TH, 1928

You have spoken of my coming on an Embassy of Empire. Well, where else should I go on such an Embassy than to Toronto?—the very heart and centre of Imperial sentiment? I know well how keen is Toronto's interest in Imperial questions. I had the privilege of attending gatherings of this great Club many years ago, and it is only eight years since I listened in this very room to the still vigorous and passionate eloquence of my old friend Colonel Denison, speaking on the whole subject of Imperial relations, including Canada's relations to her Southern neighbour, with that impulsive frankness of speech which never failed him. This City and this Club are indeed repositories of a great Imperial tradition. But they are not alone in that, for Canada as a whole, as a nation, is the repository of a great Imperial tradition which she herself has played no small part in shaping.

It seems to me that it is impossible to separate the growth of Canada's national life from the development of the British Empire. Her very birth was the assertion of a determination that the British Empire had not come to an end when the thirteen old American colonies broke away from the Mother Country. That separation of the peoples of British stock belongs to history. We can judge it with the detachment and impartiality of history. But I believe that history, in an ever-growing measure, will do justice to those who tried to avert the breach—not only to men like Burke, who in the Old Country counselled a more tolerant, a more understanding attitude towards the difficulties which the young colonies created, but also to

those American Loyalists who, loving freedom just as much as their revolutionary fellow-countrymen—and their descendants have shown it since—also believed in the value of unity and in the importance of preserving the great heritage of tradition which united the Colonies to the Mother Land. And when impatience on both sides triumphed over statesmanship, and the breach became irreparable, did those who believed in the combination of Empire and freedom despair? On our side of the Atlantic we set to work again. If we staked our all on a disastrous game we never breathed a word of our loss, but began again at the beginning. We proceeded to build up once more a new Empire all over the world, destined to become even greater than the Empire which had separated itself from us. Here on this continent those to whom the principles of unity, the love of the old flag, the faith in the old traditions, were no less sacred and precious than the freedom which they also valued—they too set out in faith to build up a new home for themselves in the forest wilderness which stood where Toronto now stands, and in the woods and among the lakes of Nova Scotia, and laid the beginnings of a great British dominion in Canada. How great their faith was it is difficult for us to realize. It was more of an instinct than any conscious realization of how Canada was destined to develop in future years. A handful of settlers in the wilderness here, separated by another handful of French Canadian settlers, with vast tracts of forest and muskeg between, from another little handful in what is now the Maritime Provinces. And yet those little handfuls of men carried with them a torch which has burned more brightly ever since.

It would be very interesting if some student of Imperial affairs took the trouble to trace the influence of the United Empire Loyalists and their descendants, and of those who carried on their traditions, upon the whole conception of a united Empire in Great Britain. There can be no doubt that men like Joseph Howe, John A. Macdonald, Tupper, Parkin, had great influence in shaping thought in the

Old Country in the last generation. To take a single man —very long your fellow-citizen here—Dr. Parkin. He was, I believe, mainly instrumental in first interesting in Empire problems a great statesman recently lost to us, Lord Milner, one who has played in our time as great a part as any man both in the actual conduct of Imperial affairs and in the shaping of our ideas on Imperial problems. I well remember, too, the deep impression which a lecture of Dr. Parkin's made on me as a small boy at Harrow. Take another instance. Take Mr. Chamberlain, who, with Lord Milner, did more than any other man to shape Imperial thought in Britain in recent years. I know how profound was the influence upon his mind of his visit to Canada, and particularly to Toronto, in the early eighties. It would be interesting to trace the influence of the United Empire Loyalist tradition, through all its ramifications, upon the whole growth of sentiment throughout the British Empire. And from those days onwards, and even before, at every stage Canada has taken the lead in the development of those conceptions upon which the new British Empire is built.

The Quebec Act, which immediately preceded it, was in no small measure responsible for the American Revolution. Its acceptance of equal rights for the religion and the language of His Majesty's French-Canadian subjects was at the moment a grievous stone of offence in the eyes of New England. Yet the Quebec Act was a great landmark in the history of the new Empire. It opened a new chapter by making it clear that the British Empire of to-day is built not on racial domination but upon toleration. Its foundation is not only freedom for the individual but freedom within it for communities, for nations, for creeds and for languages. That is one great landmark which characterizes the British Empire of to-day, with its infinite diversity, from the more uniform and homogeneous structure of the great American Republic.

Take another, and perhaps the greatest, landmark of all—responsible government. The foundations of Colonial

responsible government were laid down, its principles first enunciated, in that memorable report of Lord Durham's, which he penned here in contact with the atmosphere of Canada, realizing that freedom and equality, trust in His Majesty's subjects wherever they may live, need not mean separation, but would in the long run mean closer unity. The seed sown here in Canada spread over the whole Empire, bringing responsible government to every people of our race throughout the Empire. By slow stages, as conditions make it possible, it is spreading too to other subjects of the King, who belong to different races, and have an entirely different history and tradition behind them. No easy task of adjustment, whether in India or anywhere else, it is still a great ideal to fulfil, and one which, in one shape or another, we shall fulfil in the course of time.

Take another great landmark of Empire—confederation. The idea that scattered British colonies could be united into one great federation, following in one sense the American model, but with the very opposite object—with the object of strengthening their union with the rest of the Empire, strengthening their position in the Empire—that great conception was Canada's. There again, in Australia and in South Africa, the Canadian example was followed, and other great British nations have come, or are coming, into existence, based on the same principles of national development, national individuality, national freedom, coupled with a sense of Imperial unity and Imperial responsibility. Even in the dependent Empire—in East Africa, in the West Indies and elsewhere—that conception of a wider grouping, first inspired by Canada, is taking shape. Indeed one, and not the least effect of confederation in its early days was to lead to the belief that in some form or other the same federal principles could be successfully applied to the Empire at large. As some of you will remember, Canadian confederation was followed for two or three decades by a strong movement throughout the Empire on the part of keen students and thinkers in favour of some scheme of Imperial federation. Contact with the

realities of the problem, contact with the growing national life in each Dominion, with the immense distances which separate us, with the difficulty of ever really arriving at any division of functions which would not be irksome and embarrassing to the free development of national life, and yet not at the same time also be far too narrow to cover the whole field within which we wish to work together, led to the gradual abandonment of that idea as unpractical, at any rate in our day and in the existing conditions of the world, and substituted for it the idea of consultation and co-operation.

Here too Canada has played a very leading part. Twenty-four years ago the Imperial Conference met for the first time—and I do not see why it should be the last time—at Ottawa. That Conference laid the foundation-stone of great developments in Imperial co-operation. It was at that Conference that, Britain alone dissenting, the self-governing Colonies and the Dominion of Canada agreed upon resolutions in favour of some system of Imperial Preference. To those resolutions Sir Wilfrid Laurier gave practical effect three years later when Canada initiated her first preferential tariff—a preference then unreciprocated but gradually reciprocated in a wider measure throughout the Empire, and to-day being reciprocated, at any rate to the extent to which we do impose duties, to Canada by Great Britain. That same Conference also laid the seed, thanks to the unwearied enthusiasm and persistence of Sir Sandford Fleming, of the construction of a great link of Empire communication, the Pacific Cable, which for more than a generation has helped in the task of keeping the Empire together, and carried us to these days in which newer forms of communication are, I believe, destined to bring us closer yet.

In all these fields Canada has been a leader. So, too, in the last stage of development which culminated in the Imperial Conference of last year. In one sense that Conference was simply a final carrying out of the principles embodied in Lord Durham's report. In another sense it

was more particularly the culmination of that desire to express more clearly the full nationhood of the Dominions which voiced itself first at the Imperial Conference in 1917, and through successive stages at the meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet in 1917 and 1918, at the Peace negotiations in Paris, and in the establishment of the League of Nations. All that has followed since was largely brought about by the guidance and through the influence of Canada's representatives—Sir Robert Borden in the earlier years, and Mr. Mackenzie King during the discussions of a year ago. Throughout that development it was not a case of an insistence from Canada to which Great Britain or other Dominions demurred. It was a case of a progress as to the desirability of which we were all in agreement.

To-day the phase of the evolution of our young Empire which began with Lord Durham's report has reached completion. Let us look back over the chapter. At every stage in that chapter the growth of national sentiment and of national life in Canada has been indissolubly bound up with the growth and the deepening of the sentiment of Imperial unity. Every great struggle in which Canada has been engaged has had this double aspect. The fight for Britain against the invader, when British and French Canadians fought side by side at Chateauguay, at Lundy's Lane or on Queenston Heights, was the beginning of a common Canadian nationality. The South African War was followed by a keener realization of Canada's national individuality and character, but no less obvious to those who studied the situation was the strength of the Imperial sentiment that sent Canadians across the seas to South Africa. The same was true in the Great War. Who could disentangle the effect of the Great War, both in heightening Canada's sense of her own personality, her own individuality as a nation, and on the other hand in deepening her sense of the unseverable bonds that join us all together?

It was the same in her political development. Self-government came to Canada not as a step to separation, but

as clearing the way for a truer unity. Confederation was intended by its founders to make of Canada a nation, but a nation within the Empire, an Imperial nation. That, I believe, in even greater measure will prove to be the consequence of the conclusions to which we came just over a year ago. I know that to some those conclusions seemed dangerous. It seemed as if, in our desire to asseverate formal equality and unlimited freedom, we were loosening bonds that still had value in keeping the Empire together. I doubt if we loosened anything that for a generation past had had any real influence compared with the essential things that bind us together. Those essential things are summed up in our allegiance to the same Crown, which was affirmed as clearly and as emphatically in those resolutions as was the freedom which we each enjoy.

And now I would ask: if it be true that we now enjoy, each of us, a freedom which would make separation easy if we willed it, are we really likely to make use of our freedom for such an end? Is Great Britain, who has shown in every direction, I venture to say, in recent years an increasing sense of her Imperial responsibilities, who has shaped her foreign policy more and more from the point of view of realizing the interests, the attitude, the ideas of the rest of the Empire, who is coming round from her old attitude of economic isolation, or economic internationalism—I think the former is the truer word in fact—to realizing that her economic future depends upon cooperation with the rest of the Empire, is she likely to make use of this formal liberty assigned to her in order to forget all her past, in order to throw off that responsibility for the maintenance of Imperial unity, for the development of the whole, which is in fact emphasized by the resolutions of the Conference? I think not. Well, if that is the case with Great Britain, what about Canada? Is Canada any more likely than Great Britain suddenly to go back on the whole of her history, a history where the growth of freedom and responsibility has gone side by side from the very first step with a keener sense of Imperial responsi-

bility and Imperial unity? Is Canada going to be less of an Imperial nation in the future now that her full Imperial status has been recognized as equal to that of Great Britain?

Remember, the status recognized as due to the Dominions by the Imperial Conference is not the status of ordinary common nations. It is the status of equal freedom with Great Britain. And Britain is no ordinary or common nation. She is a nation truly Imperial in virtue of her history, in virtue of the mighty part she has played in the world, in virtue, above all, of her sense of responsibility towards the great Empire of which she is part, and so, through that Empire, to humanity at large. After all, service to others and a sense of responsibility are as essential a part in the greatness of a nation as they are in the moral development of the individual. There is all the difference in the world between some little nation, nominally independent, but living in perpetual fear of its neighbours, living in covetous desire of its neighbours' territories perhaps, living in a narrow circle, thinking only of a limited class of interests, with little responsibility for anything outside itself, and a great Imperial nation. Now the status which Canada has reached is not the status of one of these lesser nations; it is the status which Britain herself holds, the status of a responsible equal partner in the great British Commonwealth.

Well, then, I would ask, is it likely that Canada in the future is going to go back upon her own history, confine herself within a narrow circle of irresponsibility, contract her outlook, narrow her patriotism? On the contrary, I believe that in the shaping of the Empire of the future—an Empire whose wonderful possibilities we are only just beginning to descry, whose power for good in the world we are only just beginning to realize—that in that development Canada will take at least as dominant and leading a part as she has taken in the development of the Empire in the past.

Great Britain may be an old country in one sense, an old

country full of great traditions. But we also believe that we are still a young country, full of initiative, full of vigour, still able, as that Conference showed, to adjust our minds to the developments of the Empire and of the world. We are not by any means ready yet to abandon the tasks of Empire, to throw up the sponge and say that we are finished. But we do realize, and we are proud to realize, that in an ever-widening and growing task, there are younger partners who will shoulder that task with us,—partners who share our great traditions and have never separated from them; partners who are even younger in spirit, it may be, than ourselves; partners whose resources are infinitely greater than ours, and who may—who knows? —in the fulness of time play an even greater part in the partnership as a whole than we do ourselves.

These are the things of the future that no one can predict. Certainly in the economic sphere it seems to me that Canada is almost inevitably destined, by the character and volume of her resources, and by the great external trade which she is bound to develop, to play a leading part in the building up of the framework of economic co-operation. Be that as it may, one thing that is clear to my mind,—and I speak as one who comes from outside and looks at Canada, looks at her history as it was, looks at Canada as she is to-day—is that Canada will develop along the lines of her own history and her own personality, surely based on racial equality and toleration, based on freedom, based on faith in the British Empire and in co-operation. And on those lines, I believe, the greatness of her destiny knows practically no limit.

XXXI. CANADIAN CLUB LUNCHEON, TORONTO.

JANUARY 20TH, 1928

Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, and Gentlemen,— I am very glad indeed to have the opportunity of meeting this great and representative gathering of the citizens of Toronto, and of meeting them under your auspices, Mr. President; all the more so because you come, by descent at least, not only from my own county of Devon but from the very same part of that county, where I have seen our names together, side by side, in the same little village churchyard. As I mentioned to you in conversation just now, it is only a few weeks since I met one of the Ministers in the Government of New Zealand of the same name (Nosworthy) and from the same place as yourself. I think that is just one little illustration of one of the elements in that crimson thread of kinship which binds us all together, and which has been so deeply impressed on my mind in this long tour of mine.

Now you may ask what are the impressions that I have derived from this tour. I need not attempt to give them all to you, but there is one impression which is stronger than any in my mind, and that is the impression of the wonderful romance of the British Empire: the romance of its past, perhaps even more the romance of its future. In every country I have visited I have been struck by that romance. There in South Africa, at the southern end of that vast Dark Continent, I was among a great community which in the last century or two has sprung up, beginning with a little Dutch settlement at the actual point of the Cape, followed, barely a century ago, by the British conquest, and then expanding gradually into the

unknown interior. Think of it all: the work of pioneers and explorers, gallant bodies of Dutch Voortrekkers, defending their camps of entrenched wagons against overwhelming hordes of savage warriors; missionaries, like Livingstone, sacrificing their lives for the native peoples and carrying the torch of knowledge far into the interior; wars between British and natives, wars between Dutch and English, ending at the last in Dutch and English coming together to unite all South Africa as one nation, destined in its constituent elements to blend ever more closely together. What in history could be more romantic after all, than to think that among those who led British armies in the Great War, among those who sat in the council chamber of Empire almost throughout the War, were men like General Botha or General Smuts who were among our most determined and bravest enemies in the field barely a dozen years before? It shows the power of British freedom to win even old enemies to its side.

I wish I could convey to you again the romance of a country like Rhodesia, an unexplored wilderness left white in the maps of our boyhood, since become a part of the British Empire owing to the dreams of a man like Cecil Rhodes, that "dreamer devout by vision led," who won it for the Empire and who set out to build up there another new nation; and to-day that young nation, whether destined to live its own life or to strengthen the main stream of South African life to the south of it, is growing, developing, and, as I mentioned last night, thanks to the British preference on tobacco, is rapidly increasing in prosperity and marking one step further forward in the advance of civilization right across the Continent of Africa. That Continent since the Great War is, in its eastern half, British or under British influence from one end to the other. It is my confident faith that a mighty destiny awaits it; my belief that British Africa, in the wealth of its production, in the richness of its national life, in the wisdom and ability with which it is going to deal with the difficult problem of the relation of the black man to the white man, is going to

play a leading part in the history of the Empire and of the world.

I passed from there to Australia. Again the same story of scattered infant Colonies becoming a united nation; the same heroic tales of exploration and adventure, the same romance of the discovery of gold and other precious minerals; but above all the same dream of a wonderful future awaiting a young nation under the Southern stars. A nation young in all its aspirations, conscious of its own identity, full of faith in itself, but no less conscious of the deep roots of the past which bind it to the other nations of the British stock, and of the unity of the Empire which it means to preserve. Again I crossed the seas to another young nation of the South, that little people in New Zealand, more British than anything I know in the world—except perhaps Toronto. The people of those little islands, resembling in size, in climate, in natural riches, the old Mother Land, are no less confident that they are going to carve out a great destiny for themselves.

Then, right across the wide Pacific Ocean—once remote and almost unvisited but rapidly becoming more and more one of the central oceans of the world—I come to Canada. You know all the romance there is in Canada's story: the romance of the first French settlement and conquest, of the work of the pioneers and missionaries in whom is summed up the wonderful tale of Old Canada; the romance of the United Empire Loyalists and of the sturdy settlers who followed them here in Ontario, and who together, by their courage, determination and vision, have made of this Province the very core of your great Dominion; the romance again of the trappers, adventurers, and administrators of the Hudson Bay Company, who through the difficult portal of the Arctic regions, opened up the great North-West, who sent men like Mackenzie, Thompson and Fraser right across the Continent to climb your mountains and descend to the Pacific, and to carve out a mighty heritage for Canada. Yet here, too, even the romance of the past may be a little thing compared with

the romance of the future. Think of the romance that in a few years has turned the desert plains, peopled only by the buffalo, into the world's granary. Think of the romance that will come when your barren rocky wilderness stretching from Labrador through Ontario and round Hudson Bay to the Arctic, becomes perhaps the world's greatest mine field. Think of all that Canada will be and of all the part she can play in the world when she has, not nine but nineteen and, in time to come, ninety millions of people within her confines.

There are many other parts of the Empire I have not visited, each of them, too, full of romance. What can be more romantic than the immemorial past of India, the dynasties that have succeeded each other, the religions and civilizations of which India has been the cradle, or the more modern romance of the British conquest? Conquest is not really the word, for it was not by armed forces from outside but as a restorer of order that Britain was drawn by India herself into her confines and made the organizer of a great Empire. Think of the work of men like Clive and Warren Hastings, of Lawrence or Nicholson, of Lord Roberts or Lord Curzon in our own time. Again a wonderful story of the past, and yet not more wonderful than that of the future, in which, through different agencies and channels it may be, with disappointments perhaps and set-backs, we somehow visualize that ancient land preserving all that is most essential in its own character, yet being also drawn into the circle of responsible British freedom, and some day in the fulness of time taking its place side by side with ourselves as a free partner member in the Empire. I could tell you much, too, were there but time, of the romance of all those Colonies and Protectorates in Africa and scattered all over the world, with which I have to deal as Colonial Secretary, with all the story of the life that is going on there to-day and of the immense developments, social and economic, that I foresee in the future.

Let me add a word last of all about the Old Country

to which I am returning. I need not say much to you about the romance of Britain's past, of that great story of the building up of British freedom, or of the long and glorious record of British heroism by land and sea with which you are as familiar as I am, which is your heritage just as much as it is mine in the Old Country, which lives enshrined in Westminster Abbey or St. Paul's, which are also your holy places as much as they are ours in Britain. What I do want to insist upon is this: Britain does not merely live upon the past. She is proud of her past, and from that past she draws sources of inspiration and strength which will for ever stand her in good stead. The British oak is deeply rooted, but it looks, not down to the soil but upward to the heavens. Our outlook is still towards the future. We are still young—young at the core, though we be an old nation. We showed an amazingly youthful power of initiative, of extemporization, in the Great War.

Do not imagine that that spirit is dead to-day. We have carried on in a wonderful way all our responsibilities, domestic and external, since the Great War. We have never withdrawn ourselves for one moment from our great external responsibilities, from our sense of duty not only towards our partners in the Empire but also towards those portions of the Empire directly dependent upon us for guidance and control, as well as towards our share in contributing to the peace of the world. And I believe that, just as in past ages every great effort and struggle has been succeeded by a new efflorescence of thought, of science, of art, of political development in Britain, so it will be in the future. We have the glories of the Elizabethan age that followed the struggle for religious liberty against Spain. We have the glories of the Victorian age in trade and commerce, in science and literature, following the long struggle of the Napoleonic wars. I believe a new age, more glorious than any before it, will dawn in Britain itself; that the moral forces kindled in the Great War have not passed away like fire kindled

in straw, but are smouldering, to develop into a great and steady blaze as the years go by.

If we are still young and look to a greater future, that is true of every one of the countries that compose the Empire, and true of the Empire as a whole. The thing that strikes me most about the British Empire is that, while its traditions, like those of Britain, go back into the past, it is the youngest and most hopeful thing in the whole world. As a mere territorial complex it is younger than any of the great States on this planet. One is sometimes apt to talk of the United States as if they were a young country. Young perhaps compared with some of the old European countries, but old compared with the British Empire. When the United States were formed, what existed of the British Empire of to-day? Here on the North American continent a little handful of French colonists on the Lower St. Lawrence, a handful of loyalists dumped down on the forest edge on the shores of Lake Ontario, another handful in the Maritime Provinces. What was there of Australia? What was there of New Zealand? What was there in all the length and breadth of Africa except one or two small traders' stations on the west coast? What was there of the great Empire of India except just the very beginnings round Calcutta and Madras? What was there of Malaya, Ceylon and many other parts of the British Empire? The whole thing is new compared with the United States, young, in its very infancy, with all its future before it.

If it is young in that sense, it is no less young from the point of view of political development. The greatest heritage that we all have in common, and of which we are proud above all things, is our system of free responsible self-government. It is that system which, while preserving the ancient symbolism of the Throne and all the moral forces it stands for, gives to the peoples who live under it not only the fullest measure of democratic liberty but also the fullest measure of true responsibility. It is that system under which the Executive Government of the day,

composed of men who are Members of Parliament and elected by the people, carry on the work of government in constant touch with Parliamentary and public opinion, are responsible day by day to the people for the conduct of their affairs, while Parliament on the other hand, continuously confronted in the course of its work not only with the problems of legislation and finance but with all the problems of administration, is for ever made conscious of the fact that laws have not only to be passed but to be administered, and that the criticism of the Opposition in Parliament is always the criticism of men who may at any moment be called upon to take the place of their opponents and be themselves responsible for seeing how their ideas can be carried out. It is that system which, with its absolute freedom, unfettered by written limitations, yet brings with it, right through the life of the nation and above all of its Legislature and its Executive, a cohesion between all these elements in free co-operation, a deep sense of responsibility.

We are sometimes inclined to think of that great system of free government as having always been part of our British heritage. As a matter of fact it is only the latest development of British political genius. It had not come into existence when the United States separated themselves from the parent stem. The framers of the American Constitution were men who should always be held in high honour for the originality of their thought in creating a great federation, for the care and wisdom which they exercised in working out its details. But the fact remains that they had before them, when they were framing their constitution, no other models but those of the countries of ancient times and of the British system as it was before responsible self-government came into existence. Or rather its beginnings were there at the very moment that the American Constitution was devised, but we had hardly realized ourselves what was shaping itself, and the framers of the great American Constitution had certainly not realized it. So in a sense it is true to say that the American

Constitution was already beginning to be out of date when it was framed; and certainly from our point of view we can be glad that we, in a young Empire, have a more modern, more flexible system of government, one which brings every man in a great nation into truer touch with the whole government, and which does mean government "by the people, through the people, and for the people."

Again, while in its federal aspect the American Constitution is a great landmark in history, and has provided useful examples—both of what to follow and in some cases of what to avoid—to Canada and to other great Dominions; yet a federal Constitution, by its very character, by the rigid delimitation of powers between a central Executive and a central Legislature and local Executives and Legislatures, is not applicable to every set of circumstances. Many of us in the past, under the glamour of the American example and under the glamour of what the founders of Canadian Confederation achieved here, used to think that the unity of the Empire could only be achieved by some form of federal government, reserving certain powers, however limited, to a common Empire Legislature and a common Empire Executive. We are beginning to think to-day that there may be forms of unity transcending the old federal model; that in the system of responsible free co-operation in equal partnership we may find something which, while it limits in no sense the life, the individuality, the personality and development of each of its nations, can yet keep them working harmoniously together, able, when great ends are in view, to unite in forwarding them, whether the end be security in foreign affairs or, what matters more, increase in development, and the ennoblement of the life of man. We are embarking upon the greatest, the boldest, and also, I believe, the most hopeful experiment in free co-operation that the world has yet seen.

There again, without boastfulness, we can venture to say that this sytem of ours—so flexible, so comprehensive—can lend itself to far greater developments than any more rigid and limited structure. There is a gentleman in

Chicago who lives in continual fear because he thinks that Great Britain wishes to resume sovereignty over the United States. No such wish is even remotely at the back of our minds. But I would say this: that from the purely constitutional point of view, taking the British Empire as it exists to-day, there is no nation, not even a mighty nation like the United States, which, if it joined that Empire, would have to forego one shred of its national independence, one element in the fulness and richness of its national life, which would not gain in status in the eyes of the world, in power to do good in the world, by joining such a fellowship. Yet, on the other hand, what nation could join the great American Republic as a nation? It might enter inside the federal framework as a State, or carved up into a series of States. It might possibly accompany it outside the federal scheme as a satellite. But there is no room in that eighteenth-century Constitution to admit a nation, as a nation, on a footing of equality.

What the future of our Commonwealth may be, no man can foretell, or what nations may yet in fulness of time wish to join it. Those are things not for practical politicians but for speculators and dreamers to think of. What I can foresee is the maintenance between us of security for ourselves, the exercise of an even greater influence in preserving the peace of the world, a mutual co-operation even more potent to enhance our own development for each of us. Above all, more important than any material development we can achieve—and I ventured to say last night that the development of your great neighbour can give us only an inkling of the yet greater development which we could achieve in co-operation—is that we should think of that development not as an end in itself but as a means towards all that may make life finer and better for the men, women and children who live in the Empire. And our aim must be not only the raising of the standard of living, of well-being, of thought—political thought, social thought, intellectual thought, moral thought—among the peoples of our own race or kindred races in this great

self-governing partnership of ours, but also the lifting up, raising, guiding, improving, without depriving them of their essential characteristics, of those peoples of other and, in many cases, humbler civilizations which are part of this one great whole. Poets and dreamers have often talked of the brotherhood of man. If you count, not mere numbers but the almost infinite variety of relationships, the almost innumerable races, creeds, degrees of civilization, characteristics, that mark the different peoples that live under the Union Jack, is not the British Empire in itself a brotherhood of man? And how can that great organization keep together unless its peoples are animated each with that wider patriotism which can think of the interests of every other member, however humble or backward, as well as of its own more intimate, narrower interests at home, and unless that great organization as a whole plays its part responsibly towards mankind outside? If we can only see that far ahead in our generation, we can at any rate say that we have before us a task finer than any which has ever been placed before any generation, and that we can look forward to a romance as wonderful and an ideal as inspiring as any that has ever stirred the heart or mind of man.

XXXII. CANADIAN CLUB LUNCHEON, OTTAWA.

JANUARY 24TH, 1928

Mr. President, Your Excellency, Mr. Prime Minister and Gentlemen,—You have summed up, Mr. President, my career and my tastes in a very succinct fashion. My recreations, I gather—or would a better word be, my consolations?—are Canadian mountains and a Canadian wife. My profession you have described as that of the law. Alas for my financial well-being, it is a profession which I once entered to the extent of passing my examinations and eating the necessary dinners at the Temple, but have never since practised. You have added that my work brings me naturally into contact with the affairs of this great Dominion. There both my work and my pleasure have long coincided. I have had some of the pleasantest holidays in my whole life travelling through your mountains, voyaging by canoe down your rivers from Lake Winnipeg to Hudson Bay, or down from the Rockies to Fort George; and on the other hand my greatest interest in life has always been to study the development of this wonderful institution, so unlike anything else in the world, that is commonly known as the British Empire.

I do not know that it would be possible for me, or indeed for anyone, to attempt a definition of that Empire, though I believe in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* you will find under that heading a sort of attempt to give a definition. But what I would mention as a characteristic, and not a definition, is its wonderful power of adaptation to meet ever-changing circumstances, and to meet the growth of freedom and responsibility in men's minds. In that development we are to-day witnesses of the close of a

chapter; a great and glorious chapter, but still only a preliminary, an introductory chapter to something even greater and more glorious.

The chapter which has just closed is that of the evolution of responsible freedom throughout the British Empire. The most prominent landmarks in that chapter—and they are peculiarly associated with the growth of Canada and are her landmarks, as well as those of the whole Empire—are three. The first was Lord Durham's great despatch which inaugurated the policy of giving responsible freedom to the scattered British communities round the world. The next great landmark, again a Canadian landmark, was Confederation, whose sixtieth anniversary was celebrated with such pride and with such beautiful ceremony here only a few months ago; the first step in the union of scattered self-governing colonies into the nations of the future. The third landmark was that great struggle through which we all passed, in which Canada and the other Dominions showed that they were nations not merely in their constitutional structure, or in the recognition they might win within the Empire, but that they were great nations in their power of united action, in their power of sacrifice, in their capacity to give everything for a great idea.

That chapter closed, Mr. Prime Minister, a year ago, in those discussions at the last Imperial Conference, when, not with any notion that we were framing a Constitution for the Empire, not with any idea that we were introducing any change into its character, we found, meeting from every quarter of the world, differing as we did, many of us, in our party outlook or in our racial traditions, that we were yet in agreement as to the fundamentals of the position that we had reached—the fundamentals of equal freedom enjoyed by us all, equal rights to develop our national life to the fullest without recognizing any barrier or limit set to that growth, and an equal consciousness and responsibility for working together embodied in our allegiance to a common Crown. We set forth to do nothing more than to register the stage at which we had arrived; and in that

respect we were doing what Britons have done more than once in history, and when they have done it they have found that they have in fact opened up a new era, because a simple and clear exposition of a situation reached, of a development completed, is the most effective starting-point for a new development. It is in that sense that a new era has opened for the British Empire in this coming of age of the Dominions as equal partner nations with the Mother Country.

Now what, you may ask, is meant by that? Equal with what? Nations in what sense? There the Conference made it clear: equal with Britain, and equal in the common unity which exists in virtue of the fact that the same Crown, Your Excellency, is the Crown in every part of the Empire. Ours is not a mere personal union such as once united England and Hanover, different countries with different loyalties, accidentally connected by the fact that the same person was King over both. With us the Crown is one, and the underlying unity, while it imposes no restraint and limits no freedom, has a deeper moral significance and implies a common loyalty, based on a wide inheritance of common traditions, common political faith, common political speech.

It is equality with Britain as a nation which the Conference registered. Now, what sort of nation is Great Britain? She is no mean or ordinary nation. She is a great Imperial nation, if I may use that word in what I believe to be its truest significance, namely, a nation with a great tradition behind it, and a great ideal before it, not only of local patriotism, local self-assertion, local defence, but also of service to the world, of responsibility to the world, service to other races, co-operation over a wide field with other peoples. In that sense Britain is a nation differing—and I hope I say so in no spirit of boastfulness—from many other nations; differing in her spirit and, indeed, also in the advantages of her Imperial position. There are in this world many nations whose lives are narrowly circumscribed. Their outlook is perforce contracted, selfish and narrow,

because they live in fear of their neighbours, because in every direction their nominal independence is in fact thwarted by the ambitions, the military pressure, the economic policy, the tariffs of the States that surround them. Their outlook is contracted also because not only for them as nations, but for each of their citizens, there is only a limited field of endeavour.

Now let me ask you to think what is meant for Britain by her being a member of a great Empire, and then I would ask you to consider whether it is not true that everything that the Empire means to Britain is also meant by the Empire for Canada; whether it is not true that this Empire is Canada's Empire as fully as it is Britain's Empire.

For Britain the Empire has never, in recent generations at any rate, meant an opportunity of exploitation or of exacting tribute. As far as the great Dominions are concerned she exercises no control, no domination. But take her immediate dependencies—take India. Take that Colonial Empire for which, as Colonial Secretary, I am responsible to Parliament. We have undertaken great burdens and responsibilities in the administration of those dependencies. We exact no tribute from them. Their revenues in no sense go to any other object than the security and development of their own government and the improvement of the life of their own people. In some cases, indeed, we support from our own finances the development of those territories. We hold them, as we believe, in a spirit of trust for the peoples over whom we exercise jurisdiction. We endeavour to introduce, as far as we can, the underlying principles of British freedom, the reign of law above the arbitrary power of the official, the gradual spread of the institutions which we believe to have built up freedom and responsibility with us.

You may say that in those territories, as individuals, through trade and in other ways, we gain advantage. That is, no doubt, true. Where we have brought order, where we have brought prosperity, where we have put an end to slavery and tribal warfare or to the

ravages of malaria and other diseases, prosperity springs up and we have our share of that prosperity. But we claim no monopoly in it. We have never, in our day at any rate, imposed any system even of Imperial Preference upon any dependency which was not in a position to express its own views on that matter. We rejoice to think that where there are British communities that decide their own economic fortunes, their own tariffs, they give preference to their partners in the Empire; but we have never exacted preference. Again, where in the ordinary course of Government contracts and development there are openings which British traders possibly enjoy more, because of language and other community of interests, than foreigners, the word "British trader" for us has always meant any trader who is a British subject, and not merely a trader from the United Kingdom, which happens to have the direct administrative responsibility.

Take again even such a thing as the administrative careers which are afforded in our Colonial and Indian Empire. They are not restricted to British subjects born in the United Kingdom. I could give you a long list of Canadians who have held some of the highest offices under the Colonial Office, and at the present moment there is a regular system, through your universities, by which any young Canadian graduate who feels attracted by the idea of serving backward and dependent humanity in the great work we are doing in many parts of the world can get into that service and attain to any position which that service can offer.

No, the advantage to us of the British Empire is not in any monopoly or exploitation. It is first of all in this: for the individual citizen a world-wide opportunity. Any Briton who goes out from the shores of Britain lands in any part of the British Empire not as an alien, but as a fellow-subject: he lands to find the institutions, the ideals, the outlook upon life that are dear to him flourishing as I have seen them flourish in every one of the Dominions which I have been privileged to visit in these last few months.

If that is true of Great Britain is it not equally true of Canada? As I said just now, Canadians have risen to the highest posts in the administrative service in the Colonies. There is, indeed, no position in the British Empire to which they are not free to rise. We have seen Canadian-born British subjects Prime Minister and Cabinet Minister in Great Britain in the last few years. The sons of Canada have held the highest posts in the Army and Navy of Britain, and Canadians have risen to high positions not only in Britain and in the British service, but in other Dominions as well. That is one great opportunity the Empire offers equally to each of our nations. In that sense, at any rate, the Empire is as fully Canada's as it is Great Britain's.

But let me take it, not from the individual point of view, but from the point of view of the national life as a whole. What is it that the Empire means to Britain? It does not mean direct exploitation or advantage, but it does mean this: the sense of a great partnership and brotherhood which in time of danger can show itself as it showed itself in the great struggle through which we passed a few years ago. That sense of brotherhood carries with it in ordinary times a sense of security and therefore an absence of a fearful, timid, narrow outlook continually leading to thoughts of war, and by that very preoccupation possibly contributing to bring about the danger. We live in a peaceful spirit. We devote far less than we otherwise might to thoughts of war, or expenditure on war, because we feel that, after all, a great brotherhood, not only of mutual peace, but of support in the hour of danger, surrounds us. Well, if that is true of Britain it is no less true of every one of the nations of our partnership.

Take again our position in relation to the world outside. In our endeavour to preserve peace—in our own interests and, I think, in the interests of the world as well—does it not make a difference to Britain that the outside world knows that she is not merely an island in the North Sea, rich, strong and vigorous as she may be, but that she is

part of a wider whole: that she has those who share her views and stand with her? Does that not make the same difference, too, in the influence which any one of our nations can exercise? I was privileged to have something to do, at intervals, with those negotiations after the Great War which led up to the resettlement of Europe and the reshaping of the map of the world. At that Conference, for the first time, as you, Sir Robert Borden, well know, the great Dominions were officially and formally recognized as nations on an equality with the other independent nations of the world, and admitted to equal participation in the League of Nations. But you will always remember, too, Sir Robert, that during those long negotiations, inevitably, questions not merely of status but of stature and true importance entered into the calculation, and that necessarily the reshaping of the world was done, in the main, by the three or four Great Powers on whom the major responsibility, both for the War itself and for the future, rested. The lesser powers waited outside the chamber where the Big Four held council. For weeks and months they wondered what their destiny was to be, what territory should be adjudged to them, how their national life was to be helped or handicapped by the decisions which the Great Powers were taking. But the British nations, nominally ranking as the equal of those powers, were in fact also, through their day-by-day consultation in the British Empire Delegation, of the Great Powers. No decision was taken of any importance—I think you, Sir Robert, will agree with me—with regard to which the British Empire Delegation was not consulted, with regard to which the views of Canada and of every great Dominion were not taken into account and accepted. There was the true strength of the nations of the Empire, their true influence; what counted was not the mere formal recognition of their national status, but the fact of their status and stature as Imperial nations.

Take again the sphere of economic development. We in Great Britain are coming, I think, gradually to realize

that our fullest development as a nation can never be in isolation, nor in that condition of uncertainty which is involved in a dependence upon the outside world, regarded as a world with none of which we have any special economic relationship. We are beginning to realize that without impairing in any way our fiscal freedom, shaping our economic life as we will, we can yet so co-operate with the other members of that brotherhood, so intimately linked with us in other aspects of our national life, as to promote their welfare; and in doing so, if we can all agree upon a similar spirit of co-operation—not necessarily a written scheme of co-operation, or a treaty of co-operation, no, on the living spirit of co-operation—we can so work together that the strength that we help them to build up comes back to us, and comes back to us in ever-increasing measure; and as it strengthens us we too, in our turn, can again give forth new economic energies towards helping them and building up the whole. Just as the United States, following their methods, following their type of Constitution, following the geographical distribution of their territories, have carried the principle of co-operation to a wonderful height and built up that mighty prosperity with which you are only too familiar here in Canada, so I believe that we too, following our own bent, following our own spirit of free co-operation, can yet also achieve in our own way something in the economic sphere as far transcending what they have yet achieved as our resources, territorial, economic, aye, and human, transcend theirs.

That is again a field where Canada's opportunity is exactly the same as ours. Her vast resources lead her—will increasingly lead her—to build up a mighty trade across the seas. She will need markets. She will be glad to have secure, assured, growing markets. She will need to draw upon abundant supplies of the things which in her northern climate she cannot produce. She too is interested in having a great tropical empire, in being able in security to bring about that marriage of the products of the northern and of the tropical zone which is the secret

of all modern economic development. She can do that not by having to go out sword in hand to win an empire. Her Empire is there already, hers to use, hers to develop and build up, just as much as it is ours.

And, lastly, the Empire for Britain as a nation means something more than security, mutual peace, or even economic expansion. It means the growth of the inner life of the nation. For a nation, just as for an individual, it is responsibility, the assuming freely of burdens, of high tasks, of duties towards others, that enrich and strengthen and unify the national life. I remember after the War an eminent German administrator saying to me that what he envied about the British Empire was not the economic value of the Empire to Britain so much as the sense of responsibility it engendered, that profound unity underlying, and moderating our party quarrels, which came from the consciousness of the fact that we were living not for ourselves alone in a small island, but that we had great duties to fulfil towards other peoples, whether towards equal partners or towards dependants for whom as trustees we are gradually endeavouring to find a better way of living, and greater opportunities, and while doing that also playing our part towards the world as a whole. If charity begins at home, then a true sense of international responsibility is also best developed by those who are conscious of a responsibility to their immediate family, to their immediate partnership. And therefore I have always felt that Imperial patriotism was neither contrary to the best internationalism, nor in any sense inconsistent with the most passionate, the most intimate love of one's own country, one's own particular home. As was said to the Spartan of old, "Here you were born: this is the country which you must adorn." And if that is true of Britain it is true of Canada also.

That is not a new truth revealed to Canada by the last Imperial Conference. It has been Canada's history from the very first. She was born in a sense of Imperial responsibility. Men who loved freedom as dearly as any

of the founders of the American Republic also believed that freedom with unity was worth more than freedom in separation; that there were traditions and associations which it was well worth preserving. In that faith, a stupendous faith when we think of the conditions of the day, they laid the humble beginnings of this great Dominion. Since then in every chapter of her history, in the growth of her freedom, in the growth of her power, Canada has throughout shown an equal consciousness of her national life, her national pride, her national ambition, and of her responsibility as a partner, growing in stature and influence, in the wider family of which we are all a part.

I look forward with unquestioning confidence to the future of Canada as a nation cradled in great traditions, nurtured to a destiny of greatness; as a great Imperial nation destined to play a mighty part in the development of this continent, destined to bring not only economic wealth, but everything that is finest in human life to its highest fruition; destined to do so for herself as a leader in the great Commonwealth of free nations which constitute the British Empire, and through and with that Commonwealth destined also to play a worthy part in the improvement of the lot of mankind.

XXXIII. EMPIRE PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION LUNCHEON, OTTAWA.

JANUARY 25TH, 1928

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Prime Minister, Fellow-members of the Empire Parliamentary Association and Colleagues as Members of one of His Majesty's Parliaments,—It is more than twenty-three years since I first listened to your eloquence, Mr. Speaker, and I have often wondered how you found it possible to forego in Parliament the exercise of those great gifts of yours and confine them to the occasional reiteration of that necessary but not very eloquent word "Order." You have welcomed me with that warm-hearted kindness which is so characteristic of your race, both for myself and as a representative of the Mother of Parliaments. You have made me at home in Canada, and you have added very kindly that my home over on the other side has always been open, as I hope it always will be, as a home for Canadians. After all, it is a Canadian home, if you go by the more important side of home life. I, on the other hand, feel naturally at home in Canada. I have been here so often; I have so many good friends here. Besides, we in the British Empire have a privilege the full extent of which we do not always value, and that is the spaciousness of the home that is ours, and the fact that we, in addition to the wider patriotism of Empire, can also add to the narrower patriotism of our own particular countryside other local patriotisms within the Empire, and feel at home in many places besides our own narrower homeland. And so I hope I can say with all sincerity and truth that I do feel myself in some measure a good Canadian, that I do feel at home in Canada, and certainly

that I feel proud and delighted when any son of Canada achieves success in any sphere of human activity.

You have welcomed me also, Mr. Speaker, as a representative of the great Parliamentary tradition which in a peculiar sense binds us here in this room together—a tradition going back through many centuries, a tradition which, as you have reminded us, is in a peculiar sense the outcome of two conceptions identified in a peculiar measure with two great peoples: the conception of freedom, of equality under the law, which is characteristically English or Anglo-Saxon, and the conception of order and of efficient Government which, in the earlier periods of our history, was essentially and characteristically Norman. The most characteristic and basic feature in the political development of Britain and of our Parliamentary institutions is this organizing genius of the Normans, not least of great men like William the Conqueror and Edward I. Thanks to them England enjoyed, long before any other country in Europe, a homogeneous efficient government under the Crown. No feudal anarchy lifted its head against the Sovereign in order to exercise a narrower but infinitely more grievous tyranny over a smaller field. At an early stage all Englishmen were substantially equal under the King.

What has been peculiarly characteristic of the growth of British freedom is that, while the spirit of freedom has from step to step asserted itself against the arbitrary authority of the King as an individual, it has throughout the whole of that evolution safeguarded the power of the Crown as an instrument of efficient government. From the very first it was recognized that the judicial power lay with the Crown, but it was established at an early date that judgment could only be given by judges appointed by the Crown, through due process of law and in accordance with the law of the land. But they have remained right through the King's judges appointed by the Crown. Such a phenomenon as the election of judges is, to those of us who are bred in the great British tradition, something unthinkable. Again, while the Crown had power to make

new laws, it was clearly laid down that those new laws could only be made in accordance with Bills which had the assent of the representatives of the people. It was recognized that only the King could levy taxes upon his subjects or exact benevolence from them. There again arbitrary power was limited by the condition that they must be taxes which had been previously agreed to after due ventilation of grievances by the King's faithful Commons. Democracy has come in, much has changed, yet even to-day there is no greater safeguard of the interest of the subject, from the point of view of economy and the efficient conduct of government, than the fact that in our Parliamentary system it is only the Crown that can introduce Bills which tax the subject or involve the expenditure of public money.

Further still, in the last resort it came to be recognized that, while the Crown was responsible for the Executive Government of the country, that Executive Government was to be carried on in close and intimate touch, within Parliament itself, by Ministers responsible to Parliament, and able, on any great issue of administration as well as of legislation, to command the support of a Parliamentary majority. It is that final development of our long Parliamentary tradition, the establishment of responsible Parliamentary government, of which we as Britons are most proud. It is the final harmonizing, in intimate co-operation, of the widest measure of popular liberty with the unimpaired maintenance of that power of the Crown, that Norman power which, as you have reminded us, Mr. Speaker, is still to-day expressed in the Norman-French of the Royal Assent, either in the words which you have quoted in the case of Bills relating to financial matters, or in the simple formula used for an ordinary Bill, "Le roy le veult." The power and effectiveness of government throughout the whole of our development has steadily been strengthened, but it has been so harmonized with the representation of the people, with the Anglo-Saxon love of freedom, that the Executive is throughout conscious of

its responsibility to the nation. On the other hand the representatives of the nation in Parliament are throughout conscious of the fact that the laws which they frame are laws which have got to be administered. The men who put forward proposals, from whatever side of the House they are put forward, have always to consider that they themselves may very soon be in the position of having to put those proposals into effect. That has introduced right through our system a sense of responsibility which is the most characteristic feature of the British system of government and which has taken the place with us of all written restraints upon the freedom and authority of Parliament.

Ours is an infinitely flexible system of government and one which, without the sense of responsibility, would be utterly incapable of carrying on the affairs of great nations. It is the sense of responsibility, the sense of continuity, symbolized and sustained by the Crown, which has made it possible for a Government representing one party to be succeeded in office by a government representing its political opponents, and, so far from the change leading to revolution, leading to instability, or leading to chaos, Government succeeds Government, but the King's service is carried on, and only minor changes in detail affect in any way the broad and majestic continuity of the evolution of our national life. It is the great and august traditions embodied in that Crown which in large measure have made it possible that a form of government which no one would have deliberately invented should have proved supremely successful. I do not think that anyone two centuries ago, with the notions of sovereignty then prevalent, would ever have suggested that you could put the Executive in the hands of men depending upon a partisan Parliamentary majority, and expect any cohesion or stability of government. At the very moment that this final development of our political traditions was taking place, our kindred Colonies on the Atlantic seaboard separated themselves from the Old Country. The men who framed their new federal Constitution were some of the ablest and most

studious men of the day. It never occurred to them that there was any means of linking Executive authority with responsibility to the nation other than the very clumsy and circumscribed device of electing the supreme head of the Executive at intervals of years. How far removed that is from the intimate, close, continuous touch between the representation of the people and the Government of the King as it exists in our system!

I have dwelt at some length on this point for a particular reason, and it is this. We have witnessed in our day a growth of responsibility, of responsible freedom, in another direction. We have seen responsible government developing throughout the Empire to a point at which each Dominion Government is absolutely responsible to, and dependent upon, the representatives of its own people for the exercise of every function of national life. While in the early beginnings that responsibility was confined to purely local affairs, it was never laid down as a definite principle that the freedom, the responsibility, entrusted to British subjects outside Britain should ever be less than or inferior to the freedom conceded to British subjects resident in Britain itself. The limits set were always limits of convenience at the time. No fixed bounds were ever set to the growth of freedom and responsibility in the younger nations of the Empire. There is a striking sentence in Lord Durham's report—I wish I could quote it textually—in which he declared that with a greater growth of equality there would come a closer attachment and a better understanding. To talk of a growth in equality nearly ninety years ago in the troubled conditions of the Canada of those days with its infinitesimal population, as it may well have seemed then, either of the French or the English-speaking section of Canada—that was indeed a prophetic point of view to take. Yet we have witnessed the steady growth of equality coinciding with the steady growth in mutual co-operation and mutual understanding; have lived to see the prophecy come true.

Now there are critics who have felt that this complete

recognition of responsibility which was accepted by all of us who were present at the Imperial Conference a year ago has left no bonds which could in fact hold the Empire together. That is quite true: no bonds except the sense of responsibility itself. That *is* the bond, and just as under the Crown, in each of our countries, successive Governments composed of men belonging to different parties replace each other and carry on the life of the nation under the Crown, so too it seems to me that in this new experiment which we are trying, which may seem to some as fantastic as the experiment of responsible Government would have seemed two centuries ago—we may be justified in believing that Governments conducting their individual affairs in absolute freedom at the same moment of time but separated in space, can yet by the same bond of responsibility be enabled to work together under the Crown for great common ends. They can preserve their individuality, fulfil their primary duty for the development of the life of their own people, and yet, with the sense of responsibility inherent in them, also keep in mind the wider interest of the whole, which is also the truest interest of each. It may be a great act of faith, but we have had great acts of faith in our history before. It is on acts of faith that human progress is built, and we are now setting out on a new era in the life of the British Commonwealth—an era which marks no revolution, no change in our course from the progress of the past, but a natural broadening-out of all the principles that from the very earliest dawn of our history have gradually moulded our character and with it moulded the growth of the Empire, which is after all only an emanation, an outward expression, of that character.

We have a wonderful past to look back upon, Mr. Speaker. Its strands are woven together in Britain, as here in Canada, of many elements, though not least of those two great elements, the Norman-French and the Anglo-Saxon. But we have before us, based upon that past, an even more wonderful future to look forward to.

In that future we shall work on the principle, not of control but of human contact, and in that human contact between those who administer the affairs of the Empire there is no form of contact more valuable, I believe, than that which through this Association unites all who endeavour to serve their country and serve their King as members of one of the Parliaments of the Empire. Through an Association like this we can each add to our knowledge, each add to our efficiency and capacity to serve our country and our wider Commonwealth, each help to keep alive that wonderful thing, the Parliamentary spirit, which those of us who bow to Mr. Speaker's ruling know so well, and which no one who has not served in one of His Majesty's Parliaments can ever really understand. It is a bond of the spirit that runs through us all, and therefore to me it is in a very special sense a privilege to meet my fellow-members of the Parliament of Canada here in this beautiful hall, part of this splendid building which you have enlarged and beautified, rightly, to mark your sense of Canada's greatness and of the high level to which you mean Canada's life to rise.

I thank you for your reception. I thank you, Mr. Speaker, for your kindly words, and I wish this Parliament, this Imperial Parliament, all prosperity in the tasks and responsibilities with which it will be confronted during the years of mighty growth that Canada has before her.

XXXIV. WOMEN'S CANADIAN CLUB, MONTREAL.

JANUARY 28TH, 1928

A great Australian statesman, Mr. Deakin, once said at an Imperial Conference that the key to the whole Imperial position is with the purchaser, the person who goes into a shop and buys an article and decides, according to the article that he or she buys, the whole life of individuals and of nations. When you buy some article, such as an apple, it is worth while asking yourself the question, Where did that apple grow? What sort of a man is the owner of the orchard? For whom does he work? To what Government does he pay his taxes? From whom does he buy most of his things? Does he live under the same Government as you do? Does he pay taxes to your Government, or to some other partner Government which in peace and war helps to shoulder your burdens also? In what kind of school is his family brought up? What do they teach in that school? Is the result of your buying those apples to strengthen the whole of the life of some foreign family or of a family that is nearer and dearer to you than any family in a foreign country can be? Take raisins. A few weeks ago we were travelling through the ex-service men's settlements on the River Murray. There the Australian Government at immense cost has built a mighty system of irrigation, and, on beautiful soil hitherto desert, it has planted colonies of its ex-service men with not a few British and I think also Canadian ex-service men among them. I wish I could show you the homes those peoples are creating, the delightful gardens, the beautiful vineyards and orchards round those homes—the sense of confidence of a new life begun by many a man who returned from the War largely a wreck and at

any rate out of the running in the ordinary competition of life. And the whole of that development is supported by fiscal and voluntary preferences which Britain and other parts of the Empire give to Australian dried fruit over foreign dried fruit.

We are beginning to realize, every one of us, that we have an individual responsibility in this matter, and that by our action we can shake trade out of the ruts in which it so often moves and bring it on to lines which we believe to be of better value for the whole development of our nation and of the Empire. Business men are just as much creatures of habit and sentiment as we are, and often certain types of goods are stocked in the shops simply because they have always been stocked there. The same produce from another part of the Empire or from our own country can be just as good, just as cheap, but the business man has not thought of it. It only takes a few inquiries on the part of a few customers to make the retailer say to himself, "If I am getting a demand for these goods, I will inquire of the wholesaler." In this way you may get the whole channel of trade altered. We in Great Britain have, I think, been very successful in this matter in recent years. Many of our great retail stores have special Empire departments. The manager of one great store in London states that since he drew special attention to Empire goods and since the movement among women in England in favour of Empire goods, his sales of Empire tinned fruit, tinned vegetables and tinned fish, had gone up from 5 per cent.—one-twentieth of his total sales—to 55 per cent.—more than half of his total sales—an eleven-fold increase. To-day, we are organizing shopping weeks all over Britain, and there is hardly a city or town of any importance that has not regularly its shopping week. In addition to what might be called general shopping weeks, we have special weeks in which we push certain Empire products. In the last few weeks, for instance, in my own great city of Birmingham and in Glasgow, we have had Home and Canadian apple weeks—

a drive through all the shops to encourage the sale of home and Canadian rather than foreign apples, in the belief that once you start people on getting the right things they will continue to do so.

From that point of view, I was delighted to hear that you are going to have National and Empire shopping weeks right through Canada in April next. I am sure that in that way, without affecting party or fiscal issues, you can do a great deal both for Canadian production and for production in the rest of the Empire. It is an essential part, I think, of any movement for Empire trade that we should never forget that our own country is also a part of the Empire, that for you Empire trade means laying stress on buying Canadian goods as well as goods produced in other parts of the British Empire. For a Britisher at home it also means laying stress on buying British goods as well as Canadian and other Dominion products. That is one great field in which women individually and in their organizations can play a great part.

There is one other great field on which I should like to say a few words, that is, the question of a better distribution of our people throughout the Empire in order to make effective development and nation-building possible. The development of Canada's resources would mean nothing unless it brought in the people whose ability and energy would make good with those resources, unless it built up a fine as well as a numerous population to strengthen your national life. In this matter, as in some of the other matters on which I have spoken, the British people of to-day are inspired by a conception of Imperial co-operation which they did not know before the Great War. No one in Great Britain ever thought that it was the duty of the British Government to spend money or even take a little trouble to encourage British citizens to stay in the Empire rather than to go to foreign countries. To-day, in a new atmosphere, we have laid it down by law—I had the privilege to introduce that Act some six years ago—that we are prepared, up to a total expenditure of $15,000,000

a year, to co-operate with any Government in the Empire which is anxious to strengthen its national life and promote its development by encouraging the immigration of British subjects.

I want to make clear that what we are concerned with is co-operation. We believe that the growth of the younger nations of the Empire will benefit our trade, will increase the openings for our people, will help us—it may be, if the hour of danger should come as it came fourteen years ago. But in any case it is as a general policy of co-operation that we think of migration and not merely, as some seem to imagine, as a policy of getting rid of our own unemployed and thus easing our own domestic burdens. We have no desire to dump our unemployed, as unemployed, upon Canada or any other part of the Empire—still less our unemployables. We do not wish to add to the tragedy of unemployment in Great Britain by creating an even worse tragedy for those same people in Canada. What we are anxious to do is to co-operate with Canada so that those who wish to go—whether they are employed or unemployed makes no difference—and, above all, those who are likely to succeed when they come here, will have their passages facilitated, have their way made smooth. I am not suggesting that they should be nursed or spoon-fed—that would be a great mistake—but that they should be given the same kind of fair chance to make good as any farmer gives to his own stock or to the plants that he puts in the soil.

In this matter we are dealing with a business where, side by side with whatever Governments may do, the ordinary citizen, the ordinary woman, can play an immensely important part. Migration, after all, comes down in the last resort to individuals who leave their home in one country to start a new home in another—a great adventure for them. And, from the point of view both of successful settlement and of attracting further migrants, everything depends on whether those who come feel themselves at home from the first, feel themselves welcome, feel

themselves understood. I know what it has meant to us being made at home right round the Empire, not for ourselves but because we were representatives of the Old Country. But every family that break up their home in Britain and come over here to throw in their lot with Canada, to become Canadian citizens, to take their part (and their traditions make them do so as soon as they can) in public and social life, are representatives of the Old Country and worth a welcome as such. They are citizens of Canada to be, and as such it is well worth while to make them feel from the first day that Canada is going to be a true home for them.

It makes so much difference to the new-comer, shy, embarrassed, not knowing his way about, conscious that he is doing the wrong or unusual thing and may often be laughed at, if he receives a friendly welcome and a kindly word of advice. It matters even more perhaps to the new-comer's wife. Remember, it is upon the women very largely that the success of migration depends. All the hardships, difficulties and disappointments are in the first year or two—the unsuccessful crop, the uncomfortable house and the sense of loneliness—and the one thing that keeps a man on the land is a good wife who is prepared to face his hardships and is prepared to sustain him when he is downhearted and will see him through. A disappointed, discontented, over-fastidious wife has sent many a man drifting back to unemployment in your great cities, who, with just a little more encouragement, might to-day have been a prosperous and thriving farmer.

Therefore, I would suggest that there is no more immediate work to which you can devote yourself than that of taking a friendly and sympathetic interest in the new-comers, first and foremost in those of your own stock, but also in all new-comers. After all, if you admit people of other nationalities to Canada you want them to become good Canadian citizens as soon as possible, and learn to feel at home in Canada and love Canada. I know what wonderful work the women of Canada have done in this

field, and so what I am saying is not in criticism but in gratitude. In this great task of building up Canada's national life, this great task of developing Imperial co-operation, while there is much that Governments can do, there is an immensely important part that can be played by every citizen in the community, and certainly not least by the women of the community.

XXXV. QUEBEC CANADIAN CLUB, QUEBEC.

JANUARY 30TH, 1928

Je vous suis infiniment gré, M. le président, de l'accueil cordial et charmant que vous m'avez accordé. C'est un privilège pour moi de parler devant un auditoire aussi distingué que celui qui réunit toujours le Club Canadien et les autres clubs qui se sont associés avec lui pour me faire leur invité.

Ce matin par un temps ensoleillé j'ai regardé du haut de la citadelle les nobles hauteurs des Laurentides, le fleuve majestueux avec sa nappe de glaces, et j'ai senti une émotion profonde en songeant à tout le passé de gloire et d'effort qui plane sur ce sol historique, je pourrais dire consacré. A gauche dans l'embouchure de la rivière St. Charles je vois l'endroit où Champlain débarqua, et où fut créé, grace à son effort prévoyant, un nouveau champ d'action et de pensée pour le génie français sur le continent d'Amérique. A ma droite, ou les plaines d'Abraham s'étendent, se deroula la lutte historique des anglais et français a la suite de quelle le Canada entra dans le sein de la famille britannique, et ou le beau monument érigé aux braves consacre, sans distinction de race, la devotion et la gloire de ceux qui furent tous deux les fondateurs du Canada. Devant moi sous les ramparts, les Canadiens français, inspirés par la liberté octroyée à leur langue et à leur foi par le Parlement britannique, ont repoussé la tentative de Montgomery de les forcer d'entrer dans l'union des colonies révoltées. C'est à Quebec plus tard que les hommes d'état canadiens français et anglais, sous l'inspiration d'un Cartier et d'un Macdonald, se sont réunis pour poser les bases constitutionelles d'une nouvelle vie nationale

pour un Canada plus grand—vie nationale dont la vigueur n'entame pas ni la vie individuelle ni la culture des diverses communautés qui la composent, vie nationale compatible en même temps avec l'union, en collaboration féconde, avec ses associés libres et égaux dans la fraternité des nations britanniques. C'est bien ici, pensai je, que c'est le berçeau de l'histoire canadienne; c'est bien ici que s'est developpé cette interaction et co-operation des elements français et anglais qui a fait tant pour enrichir et invigorer la vie nationale du Canada.

Si vous me permettez, Messieurs, je me servirai maintenant d'un moyen de communication qui m'est plus familier, et avec l'aide duquel je peux plus facilement developper ma thèse en parlant et exprimer plus exactement les nuances de ma pensée. Si je passais encore quelque temps parmi vous je pourrai peut-être me passer de cet appui familier et me lancer davantage sur les ailes de votre beau parler français. Mais je crains le sort d'un Icarus qui tomba parce qu'il se confia trop aux "pennis non homini datis"—comme ils disent à Laval.

As I think of that wonderful past which was cradled in Quebec, the thought came to my mind that, after all, Canada's history, and the fruitful interaction and intercourse of the French and the English elements which distinguish it, were begun even before Canada: they go back in a sense over more than a thousand years of history. As I stood on the Citadel, my mind went back to those dark and confused ages which followed the breakdown of the Roman Empire during which, from the shallow estuaries of the German and Danish coasts and from the deep fjords of Norway, wave after wave of bold adventurers crossed the North Sea. They crossed for the love of fighting and exploration; they crossed for the love of liberty; they also crossed as colonizers, and they built up between them the first two great oversea colonies of the modern world—England and Normandy. In England the invaders found little of the power of Rome or of Roman civilization that

could either check or influence them. They spread freely over a spacious country, with every encouragement to develop that love of liberty, that dislike of arbitrary restraint which has always characterized the English people. In Normandy their kinsmen found a stronger resistance from the native population of France; they also met the mighty organizing spirit of Rome still living, still capable of influencing others, as, indeed, it influenced the great world of the Church after Rome itself had fallen. Absorbing that organizing spirit and giving to it something of their own forceful energy and purpose, they became the greatest fighters, the greatest builders, whether of cathedrals or of fortresses, the greatest political organizers of the mediæval world. The Normans carved out their kingdoms in Sicily, in Constantinople, in Greece, in Cyprus, in Palestine, and in Asia Minor.

But none of their political creations endured except one, their conquest of England, for there they found themselves in contact with a race fundamentally akin to themselves, a race which had developed characteristics different in some respects, but one with which they could naturally blend in fertile contact and co-operation. The wonderful story of the development of British constitutional liberty is in large measure the story of the interaction of Norman love of order and unity and efficiency with Saxon love of individual freedom and hatred of arbitrary power. Working together, the two elements achieved a result which preserved at one and the same time the unity, continuity, strength, and efficiency of government, and yet gradually bent government into harmony with established laws in which the people believed and into harmony with the wishes and desires and interests of the people. It is that gradual process of harmonizing two opposite ideas, each true and each essential, which is the conspicuous feature in the long development of what we know to-day as free responsible government in the British Empire.

I pass on to the days when, after many settled generations,

the spirit of adventure once again took hold of the descendants of the old sea-kings who came across the North Seas and conquered England and Normandy. Once again there was a stir in the old hives, and new swarms winged their daring flight across the wide Atlantic, in ships which seem to us incredibly small. One swarm crossed these northern waters, penetrated up this mighty river and here at this gateway laid the foundations of French Canada. Statesmen and organizers like Champlain, men of faith and ideals like Maisonneuve, created Montreal to be a centre for the spread of Christianity over this Continent; heroic missionaries like Brébœuf, who gave his life cheerfully for his flock, explorers like La Salle, who found his way from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. At the same time both to the south and to the north of these hardy pioneers of French Canada, their English kinsmen under Raleigh, under the Puritans of the *Mayflower*, under the Merchant Adventurers of Hudson Bay, founded their colonies along the Atlantic coast to the south and penetrated to the very heart of the unknown North. Their advance guard, men like Mackenzie and Thompson, crossed the prairies and found their way to the Pacific Ocean on the one side and the Arctic Ocean on the other. Presently these two kindred elements came into long conflict and through conflict into union, which developed fresh resources, fresh ideas for the good of mankind. As on the field of Hastings Saxon Harold fell before Norman William, both of them to-day heroes of English history, so, on the Heights of Abraham, Wolfe and Montcalm, equal in valour, equal in chivalry, equal in greatness of soul, fell on the same day, to live for ever as heroes of Canadian history, and the noble monument in front of this building tells you how their valour brought them to the same grave, how history has consecrated their fame, and how their grateful posterity, united as one people, have joined them in the same monument.

From that union have sprung many of the most fertile ideas in the history of the British Commonwealth and of

the world. It was here, in contact with the French population so recently conquered, that the British Parliament was persuaded by a wise and far-seeing Governor[1] to pass the Quebec Act, which established a new principle in that second British Empire, which was beginning to come into existence at the very moment that Britain's first Empire broke to pieces. The principle established on that occasion, and upheld ever since, was the principle of toleration, of free play for the development of communities with a personality of their own, their own faith, their own language, their own culture. It is to the Quebec Act that we owe it that the new British Empire was based not on race, not on religion, not on language, but on a community of certain underlying ideas of political freedom.

Again, it was here in Canada, faced with the situation created by the attempt to prolong an old-fashioned system of government, equally unacceptable to French and English, that Lord Durham drafted that famous document which laid down the other great principle of the new Empire, the principle that responsible government, the full responsibility of the Executive to the Parliament in which it works, was not to be the monopoly of Great Britain but was to be established—with all that was implied in its establishment—on the soil of the British colonial world overseas. From its first infant root in Canada that principle spread to every other Dominion in the British Empire; is spreading, too, to-day, more gradually—inevitably so—to peoples of other races under the British flag, of different degrees of civilization, of other colour. That principle developed step by step as greater responsibilities were added to the young nations—and rightly added, because with greater responsibility has come not only a greater consciousness of their own national life, but a deeper consciousness of the bonds of freedom, of common interests, of common ideals, which unite us all. Here too in Canada, as I ventured to say in French just now, French and English statesmen, realizing the difficulties of the unsuitable and artificial form of

[1] Sir Guy Carleton, afterwards Lord Dorchester.

union which once bound Upper and Lower Canada together, devised that wider, more spacious and better designed home for Canada and for all her children, within which each of her peoples, each of her communities, has been free to develop itself, to maintain its own character, to maintain its own ways, but has also been given the opportunity for developing a strong and harmonious Canadian national life.

Last of all, Canada has played no small part under the inspiration of successive Prime Ministers—Macdonald, Laurier, Borden, Mackenzie King—in bringing to its final and fullest development that conception of free responsibility which, at the Imperial Conference of a year ago, laid down the last great principle in our constitutional evolution, namely that the bond which unites us is not the subordination of any one of us to any other, nor the subordination of all of us to the embarrassing fetters of some machine-made federal constitution, but that the bond which unites us all in equal freedom, in equal dignity, is that common Crown which has descended in historic continuity from the old Norman days, which still, in its Parliamentary decisions, uses the old French phrases, "Le roy le veult," "Le roy s'avisera," "Le roy remercie ses bons sujets," but which to-day symbolizes the spirit of unity and co-operation which holds together a galaxy of free nations encircling the earth.

I have attempted to outline the long history of the interaction of Norman-French and Saxon, of French and English thought, in the Old World and in the New, over a thousand years. Now we stand at the beginning of a new age. For ourselves, within the circle of the British nations, what has that age to offer? It seems to me that it has to offer to each one of our nations the very richest and fullest development of its national life. We work in freedom, but we work with that sense of mutual support, of mutual help, which enables us to realize that we can live not only without fear of external interference, but that in the development of our life we can draw upon many resources which

will enrich and strengthen that life, whether in the field of economic development, in the field of political thought, or in any field of action, social or intellectual, where man's life may be strengthened, beautified, ennobled. There lies a great field for our common action, and in that very common action, in helping each other, we shall create an ever-increasing multiplicity of links to bind us together. Those links will increasingly maintain our unity and make our British Commonwealth a real organic thing in this world, a thing of power to benefit those who live within it, of power to do good to the world outside, without in any degree fettering the individuality or cramping the soul or restricting the development of any one of its partner members.

I have heard the question sometimes asked whether a man should regard himself as first a lover of Canada or as first a lover of the Empire. To me the antithesis is meaningless. When I think in terms of England, it seems to me that if I love England I want her to be prosperous, secure, honoured among the nations, and enjoying those responsibilities which ennoble and enrich her internal life as any fulfilment of responsibility enriches the life of the individual; and for me that wider support, that wider responsibility, that broader outlook which England derives from her association with her partners in the Empire, from the responsibilities which she has to discharge towards subject and weaker peoples, so far from being contrary to the development of England as England, only help to strengthen her national life. As an Englishman I am consequently a believer in the British Empire. If, on the other hand, my thought is of Empire first, then I know on reflection that the strength of that Empire, the permanence of that Empire, can only be based on the fullest freedom, the fullest development, the fullest variety of the life of its separate parts, and that the last thing I could wish is that the life or character of England, as England, should be cramped or limited in any sense by her being a member of the Imperial partnership. The same, it seems to me, is true of Canada as Canada. Her greatest oppor-

tunities, her greatest freedom, lie in the Commonwealth to which she belongs; and yet if a Canadian thinks of Empire first he has always to remember that as an Imperialist living in Canada his first duty is to see to it that Canada prospers. That is his immediate part of the greater task, to which he has dedicated himself. To my mind, therefore, there is no antithesis. We can be national patriots, loving our own country with passion, deeply attached to its soil, dreaming of its future, and at the same time Imperial patriots, believing with all our hearts in the wider fellowship and brotherhood of the Empire, not only for the sake of our own country, not only for the sake of all the other nations associated with it in the Empire, but also for the influence which it exercises upon the world as a whole.

XXXVI. CANADIAN CLUB LUNCHEON, HALIFAX, N.S.

FEBRUARY 1ST, 1928

Mr. President, Your Honour, Mr. Prime Minister and Gentlemen,—I come here to this old Province, the oldest fortress of British power in the North American Continent: "The Warden of the Honour of the North," as you, Mr. Chairman, have described it; this debatable ground of a century or more between France and Britain—a territory so rich in its traditions and memories of the past but, I believe, like Britain herself, not destined to be merely a land of memories, but also a country with possibilities of immense development before it in the future, if it knows how to take advantage of its assets and its opportunities. That is what I have felt wandering right round the British Empire, as I have done during these last six months. Wherever I have been I have been fascinated by the romance, by the history of the past. Each portion of the Empire—be it South Africa, be it Australia or New Zealand, be it the great Hudson Bay region or old French Canada, from which I have just come—has its own wonderful story, but in each there is the dream of a future much greater than the past. In each nation of the Empire there is the consciousness that the long seed-time, the period of germination, is coming to an end, and that the tree is going to blossom in all its richness and variety of fruit. And with that sense of history, that confidence in the future, in each nation of the Empire, I have also found, equally strong, the deep consciousness that all these histories are part of one great history. These different futures are all thought of as part of one common future—a future that in its free development, in its free and fruitful co-operation, is going

to bind together the nations of the Empire all the more closely, as they live the more freely, and all the more intimately as they each develop their own characteristics.

We are to-day at the close of one great era in the life of the British Empire and at the opening of another. In that new era we shall, I believe, each of us find our security, our peace, our power to do good in the world, as well as our opportunities of development, through co-operation within the British Empire. To my own fellow-countrymen at home I am never weary of preaching the faith that their difficulties—great as they may seem, if their eyes are fixed only upon the little Island in which they live—can all be solved if they join in a wider partnership for the common development of the Empire as a whole. I need not attempt to elaborate to you the arguments which I would use before a British audience to show that Britain's interest lies, not in isolation but in co-operation, not only in matters of external relations, but, above all, in the development of trade and commerce within the Empire.

To-day, I will attempt, if I may, to suggest some reasons why the development of Canada, and above all of these ancient Provinces on the Atlantic, can be most fully attained through a policy of Imperial co-operation and Empire development. Canada is destined in any case to have a great future. Her resources are so vast, her territories so great, that she is bound to grow. Nothing can prevent her growth. But the question Canadians naturally ask themselves is: How can we get the greatest growth and the greatest development of Canada? How can we realize the dream of making Canada in every sense the equal of the great nation to the south of her?

The answer I would suggest is that you are not likely to attain that end by a mere absorption into the economic system of your great neighbour, by supplying your resources to the yet greater building up of its prosperity. Nor yet will you attain it by a mere mechanical imitation of the policy under which the United States have grown great, because your circumstances and your geographical

configuration differ so much from theirs that I believe it would be a mistake to think that what has suited them necessarily suits you. The secret of success in a nation, as in an individual, is to realize its own assets, its own characteristics, geographical or economic, to study the nature of its own resources and the qualities of its people, and to make the fullest use of them. Let me give you a parallel from across the water. I would take it from the long rivalry in war and in peace between England and France. In France you have a great four-square block of territory rich in every product, a land not only of wheat and wool and cattle, but a land of the vine and the olive and all the products of a warmer sun. To the north of it you have a little Island only a third of its area, with less varied resources—though resources very rich in certain directions—and with a position on the map that made it peculiarly suited to the development of overseas trade.

France grew great and rich by the development of her own internal resources. Instead of following the example of France, Britain, making use of her deeply indented shores and of the maritime instincts of her people, and of the fact that in some of her products—her woollen cloth for instance—she possessed an article which all the world demanded, making use, too, of the fact that in her coal she had another material upon which a great export industry could be built up, laid herself out, not for a policy of internal development, but for a policy of building up a great shipping and a great trade across the seas. In the conditions of those days she realized that a great overseas trade to be secured had to be controlled; the sources of her raw materials, the markets in which she sold her goods, were assured to her by a policy of colonial development. "Ships, Colonies and Commerce" were the watchwords under which Britain grew great. She built up, in India and across the Atlantic, the means of developing and stimulating her own growth, which made her the England which in the days of Pitt held her own not only against France but against the whole of Europe marshalled under the French banner.

I venture to think that in that comparison there may possibly be some element worth considering by Canadians. The United States, like France in the past, have grown great mainly by the development of their own rich resources. The 3,000,000 square miles of their territory extend not only east and west across a whole Continent, but they extend southwards from the northern temperate zone right down to the sub-tropical regions that lie round about the Gulf of Mexico. The great bulk of that vast variety of products of every clime which is so essential for the building-up of modern industry and modern civilization, they already possess within their own confines. It was, therefore, comparatively easy, with resources not only so great in volume but so varied in their climatic range, to build up that greatness which is the amazement of the world, by a policy which has, predominantly, been one of internal development. Now look at Canada. Her territory is greater than that of the United States. The volume of her resources in wheat, in minerals, in lumber, in many another field, is as great, or destined to be as great, as theirs. But if you are asked the question: What is the range of Canada's resources, it is obvious that it is more limited from the climatic point of view than that of the United States.

On the other hand, look also at the geographical configuration of the two countries. The United States form a great square block each part of which is naturally and easily accessible from the other, by its very configuration looking inwards rather than outwards. Then look at Canada; its deeply indented shores bringing the commerce of the oceans to the very heart of its country, the mighty St. Lawrence carrying the world's traffic a thousand miles inland to Montreal; that great "Mediterranean of the Arctic World," the Hudson Bay, conceivably yet another great entry into Canada. If you look at the globe, you will see Canada, east and west, jutting out over the oceans. Just as Britain rose to true greatness largely because of her unique position, so here in Nova Scotia, you have a position almost the exact counterpart of hers, overhanging the

Atlantic, more favourably situated for trade—whether of the West Indies or of South America or of West and South Africa or the Mediterranean—than any other part of this great Continent. In British Columbia, too, you also have something of a counterpart of Britain with regard to the trade of the Pacific.

I would suggest that from those points of view, both because Canada is uniquely shaped by Nature for the development of a great overseas trade and also because of the very limitation of her resources, it is necessary for her to foster a great export trade in the things which she can produce in abundance, whether of natural products or, as I feel certain will be the case in future, of a surplus of manufactures. She needs a great export trade. She also needs a great import trade, to supply her industries with raw material, and her people with the foodstuffs and other products of the tropics. For all these reasons Canada, to obtain her full development, will be compelled to have a much wider outlook than her great neighbour, to look beyond her frontiers and not merely within them. And just as Britain is beginning to realize, when she looks beyond her frontiers to-day, that there is something better than merely dealing in isolation with an outside world, and that is dealing with partners in a great world-wide Commonwealth, so I think Canada will realize that she needs a tropical Empire from which to draw the resources of the South and marry them with her own resources, and that she needs an Empire partnership of highly developed and prosperous sister communities within which she can find a wider home market to redress the limitations of her individual home market.

We in our day had to win an Empire. We won it after long struggles by sea and land. We won it, thanks to the heroism and the spirit of adventure of many a trader, many a settler, many a soldier and sailor. For Canada. that Empire is won already. As a partner in the British Commonwealth, she has only to assert her claim to play her part in the development of that great Empire.

I believe in doing so she will not only be shouldering with us a great responsibility for the development of the world and the helping forward of other races of mankind, but will also be doing something essential to her own fullest economic development. Take one instance—an instance next to your own door. Within a very few days from this port lie some of Britain's oldest possessions—linked in old days with this port by the closest intercourse of trade, in war and peace, and by the fact that again and again the squadrons that saved the West Indies for the Empire came to refit and equip themselves in this port of Halifax. These are old, half forgotten associations which yet contain within themselves prospects of great future development.

Those Islands—neglected perhaps in recent generations and to some extent in a backwater of the world till the Panama Canal was opened—have in themselves, in their fertile though limited soil, immense opportunities for the development of wealth. It is worth while remembering that after Wolfe died on the heights of Abraham, after French Canada had been won by our navies and armies, when it came to the Treaty of Paris, it was for months a matter of serious and anxious discussion both in Britain and in France whether Britain would sooner for the sake of peace give back to the French Guadaloupe or Canada. The French preferred Guadaloupe, while we, with an instinct that has often stood us in good stead, preferred what some witty Frenchman at the moment described as "quelques arpents de neige." The fact remains that one West Indian Island was in those days thought to be from the economic point of view worth the whole of Canada. Those Islands, with a population of 2,000,000 and a trade already by no means insignificant, might be developed to something far greater, both in their own interests and as an essential complementary element in the development of Canada's greatness. Canada needs her south as well as her west, and to the immediate south of her a field for development lies almost at your doors here in this old Province.

You have linked yourselves closer to the West Indies

by Treaties of Commerce and Preference, in one at least of which I played a part some years ago. That is a very important beginning. The preferential treaty gives the West Indies great advantages in your market; it gives you great advantages in the West Indian market. But after all, a trade agreement is merely the creation of an opportunity. It is up to Canada now to get hold of that situation, not only to sell what she can in the West Indian market such as it is to-day, but to build up and develop that market so that it can buy much more than it does from Canada, and so that it can send to Canada many things that you need, which you draw to-day from foreign sources or through foreign channels. There is no reason why either the producers' profits or the middleman's profits or the railway profits, should not remain with Canada, or at any rate within the Empire. And in doing that you will add not only to the immediate development of trade between Canada and the West Indies, but through the indirect workings of mutual preference you will do a great deal to develop trade with the rest of the Empire.

The West Indies give preference, not only to you but to Great Britain, and Britain gives a preference to West Indian sugar and other West Indian products. By buying their commodities you cause the West Indies to become a better market, not only for your goods but for British goods, and in sending British goods to the West Indies we in Great Britain are in a stronger position to buy from Canada. We are already your best customer; equal best customer in actual volume of purchases, but taking purchases per head of population we buy more than three times as much from you as your great and wealthy neighbour. Consequently everything that you can buy, directly or indirectly, to stimulate the economic development of Great Britain, comes back to you in threefold ratio as compared with anything that stimulates the wealth of your southern neighbour. That is the underlying value and meaning of the preference which you give Great Britain to-day, and which we are beginning to reciprocate.

The process is one of continuous mutual stimulation. What you do to develop the West Indies helps not only your direct trade with the West Indies but helps Britain's trade with the West Indies, and thus helps your best customer and helps your trade with Britain. And as Britain trades with you, mutual commerce grows ever increasingly. That is the underlying principle of preference, that you use the strength of your market, the economic energy which you spend in your purchases, not dissipating them in the outer world which may keep those energies to itself or return very few of them, but keeping them within the wider circle so that those energies come back to you in ever-increasing strength and stimulate your own Canadian resources.

I have taken the instance of the West Indies as that part of the Empire nearest to you, which your business men can take in hand most immediately to develop for their good and for your good. But the West Indies are only a small portion of Britain's tropical Empire. Just across the Atlantic, as near Halifax as they are to Liverpool, lie Britain's West African Colonies, containing more than 20,000,000 of industrious and commercially-minded natives, containing every kind of resources in oils and minerals, in tropical products of every kind that we of the northern world need so much—resources more than large enough to meet all the needs of Britain's industry and all the needs of Canada's ever-growing industry. There is a great field for development. We claim no monopoly in that field. We administer it, it is true, but we invite young Canadians to come in and join our administration just as we invite young Britishers. From the business point of view, in Sierra Leone, in the Gold Coast, in Nigeria, there is a great market which we want you to join us in developing, a market which doubles itself every ten years.

In South Africa, in that great new Empire of East Africa, which since the War has become a continuous British territory from the Zambesi to the Nile, in Ceylon

and Malaya or in those Pacific Islands, as rich and even greater in area than the Islands of the West Indies and almost untouched, not to speak of the vast and populous Empire of India, there is an immense field before Canada to-day. There you have available for Canadian enterprise, for Canadian industry, for Canadian vision, an Empire already yours, which you can link up with your own vast resources, with your own peculiar opportunities, in order to build up on this soil of Canada a development which may surpass that mighty development with which you are so familiar to the south of you; just as in the course of a century or two Britain by similar means surpassed her older, more powerful and far wealthier neighbour, France. For that development you in this Province are peculiarly well situated. From the point of view of access to Canada's trade, you have the Panama Canal, you have the St. Lawrence, possibly Hudson Bay; from the point of view of the world's trade, you are in a unique position, and can open up all the markets of the world to Canada's products and draw into the orbit of Canada's economic system all the products of the whole Empire.

That is the vision that I wish to put before you, a vision of hope for Canada and for this part of Canada with which you are associated and in whose future you are so profoundly interested. I was dipping this morning into the speeches and writings of that great Nova Scotian Joseph Howe, and I will quote the opening sentences of a pamphlet which he wrote more than sixty years ago.

"Under the Providence of God, after centuries of laborious cultivation, the sacrifice of much heroic blood, and the expenditure of a vast amount of treasure, the British Empire, as it stands, has been got together, and the question . . . is: What is now to be done with it?" I believe that if the particular solutions which he recommended then are no longer altogether applicable, the spirit that he preached was the right one, namely, that working in freedom, working with a sense of a common responsibility, working in intimate co-operation both for our security

and our peace and for our economic development, we can achieve something infinitely greater than anything that we or any people or combination of peoples on earth have ever achieved before.

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XXXVII. CANADIAN CLUB DINNER, ST. JOHN, N.B.

February 2nd, 1928

You devoted your interesting speech, Mr. Mayor, to the subject of discovery and rediscovery. I have, as you truly said, been travelling on a great voyage of discovery, and now my mind is already beginning to turn to what I may discover or rediscover when I get back to England—what sort of a country I shall find there after so long an absence. You spoke, too, of the discovery and rediscovery of this beautiful and interesting old-world land of Acadia, of the Maritime Provinces, discovered I believe by the Norsemen nearly one thousand years ago, then lost, then rediscovered by Cartier and others, and now standing, as you rightly said, in need of rediscovery by Britain; lying so near to Britain and yet so often overlooked by many a settler who would find here a home much more suited to his temperament and to the needs of his family than he has sometimes found by travelling two or three thousand miles further on. Possibly also a country in need of rediscovery by Canadians themselves; a country with unique possibilities for the development of Canada's trade by sea, whether it be trade to the Canadian West *via* the Panama Canal or some day by the Hudson Straits, or the trade which I believe she is going to develop in ever-increasing measure with the Empire that is her Empire just as much as it is Great Britain's; in the first instance with those small Colonies of the West Indies immediately to the south of her, but then I believe stretching across the Atlantic to that far richer field of development which exists in tropical Africa, East and West.

Apart from the natural beauty of these provinces and

from their future possibilities, it is of peculiar interest to me that my last halting-place in this long pilgrimage of Empire should be in a region so intimately associated with the very beginnings of the British Empire of to-day. It is not quite 150 years ago that the humble beginnings of this city were laid by a little band of refugees from the American Colonies—men who left comfortable homes, rich properties, all that made life interesting and pleasant, to start anew in what was then a barren wilderness. They did so because, while they loved liberty no less than any of the men who raised the standard of revolt against the Mother Country, they believed that liberty and unity could be reconciled. Convinced that all that they desired in the way of liberty could be won with a little more patience, they knew that what they valued in the union with the great main stream of British freedom and British progress was too precious to be severed irreparably by a rash act. They knew that it was an unwise thing to attempt to tax the American Colonists. But they also understood how strong was the moral case of the Mother Country which had spent her blood and treasure to defend the Colonies against France, and which for years had vainly striven to find some other way of inducing those Colonies to pay even a part of their local defence against the Indians. Be that as it may, believing in liberty, believing in unity, and believing that those two could yet be reconciled, they went out into the wilderness. What an act of faith that was! A handful of men in a barren territory whose potential value few could recognize—a handful against the millions who had broken off their allegiance. The question that is worth while asking to-day, nearly 150 years later, is: Was that faith justified?

Let me attempt to answer the question, first of all from the point of view of political freedom. When the United States broke away from the Mother Country, they believed that they were a young and progressive community of the future, breaking away from a decadent, reactionary monarchy. And yet, at the very time when they separated,

the old constitution of Britain was beginning to undergo a profound change. We were on the eve of the greatest discovery of British political genius, the discovery of what we know to-day as responsible self-government, that form of government which preserves the efficiency of the Executive, but by bringing it into intimate touch with Parliament keeps it closely associated with the wishes and desires of Parliament and of the nation, and which, by doing so, gives to Parliament and to the whole electorate a sense of responsibility, a realization that laws have not only to be passed but to be administered. It is a system of government which in the truest and fullest sense implies "government for the people and with the people," which makes freedom responsible and prevents it from degenerating into anarchy. The founders of the American Constitution, separating themselves from the fountain of British political inspiration at a moment of stagnation in our constitutional history, embodied in a fixed Constitution a political scheme which was already passing out of existence. Their Constitution, wonderful and new as they thought it, was already out of date when they devised it nearly 150 years ago.

Within a generation of their separation that higher form of free government which you prize so much here in Canada, and to which we are so deeply attached throughout the British Empire, came into being on British soil; and more than that, having come into being, provided a solution for the very problem, the failure to solve which brought about the disruption of the first British Empire. If responsible government had existed before 1775, if someone with the vision of Lord Durham could have said: "Put the responsibility on the Colonies themselves, let them deal with their frontier problems, do not treat their administration as a part of British Executive responsibility, make them a responsible community," they would have faced their problems, they would not have refused to take up their burdens, and I do not think they would have ever been separated from the Mother Country. Certainly once that solution was found, the ever-increasing growth

of freedom and responsibility has only joined Canada and the other British Dominions more closely to the Mother Country and to each other. That responsibility found a solution, too, for another problem—that of uniting scattered colonies into greater nations. Under the old system it was apparently impossible for the Americans to become a nation without breaking off, but we have seen since then within the British Empire groups of colonies, Canada being the first, becoming great nations without in any degree impairing the sense of a wider patriotism and a wider interest uniting them to the rest of the British Commonwealth.

In these days we have seen the fullest fruition of that development, the recognition by the Mother Country of the younger nations of the Empire as her equals—equals in freedom, equals in the right to exercise every function of national life, equals in responsibility for maintaining that higher unity of all of us, which is embodied in our common allegiance to the same Crown. In doing so we may once again instinctively, only half-consciously, perhaps, have found our way towards a higher and more flexible organization than anything the world has known before. One hundred and fifty years ago it seemed impossible to keep together in any form of union communities on two sides of the great Ocean. Even among those on the same side of the Ocean the only form of union that seemed possible was one which vested certain definite powers in a central authority, and reduced the units that came together to the subordinate position of States in a greater Federation. That position was not made good without a long and terrible struggle two generations later. We have discovered a means by which a greater unity can comprehend, not merely States or Provinces but whole nations, with a fulness and richness and responsibility of national life not one whit inferior but superior to that enjoyed by any other nation in the world—a system of infinite flexibility whose future developments no man can yet foresee.

I venture to say, then, that the faith of those early

Loyalists was justified from the point of view of political freedom; that so far from remaining anchored to a decadent and reactionary system they remained in communication with the true fountain of political liberty. They gained in other ways as well. England was not decadent in 1775, though she may have been passing through a period of reaction. Look at the century and a half that followed. Why, it contains the most glorious chapters of England's life. It has witnessed her greatest struggles in war, from the days of the long Napoleonic wars, the days of Nelson and Wellington, down to the terrible struggle of our own day. What a chapter of history! Again, when one thinks of all that those 150 years have seen in political development, in the development of the idea of social welfare, in the development of science, of art and literature—they have been the most glorious days in the life of a nation that does not know how to grow old, and is, I believe, to-day younger than it ever was. Her struggles of the past, the struggle against the Spanish Armada or against Napoleon, what were they in their intensity of effort and sacrifice compared with the struggle that Britain went through not ten years ago? And just as each of those struggles was followed, after a brief reaction, by the glories of a great efflorescence of adventure and expansion in commerce, in industry, in science, in art, in literature, so I believe that one of the most glorious periods in British life is still immediately before us. Is it too much, then, to claim that those who remained associated with that life, to whom all those glories are their glories, your glories, chose the better part?

What about the point of view of Empire? Remember that when these Loyalists came, when they made their little settlements here and in Nova Scotia, and another little settlement in Ontario, with a handful of French settlers on the St. Lawrence, that was all that existed then of the great Dominion of Canada of to-day, with its realized achievement and infinitely greater future. That alone is something which in time is going to redress the whole

balance which was upset 150 years ago. And yet that is only a part of the new British Empire that has come into existence since those days. I came here from the great Island Continent of Australia, itself nearly as large as the United States, with possibilities of development hardly less, with a population at the end of little more than a century from its first settlement three times as great as that of the United States when they were a hundred years old. Near it lies another Dominion, not so great in area but full of possibilities, little less great than those of the British Isles themselves—I mean New Zealand. Before that I came from the great sub-continent of South Africa, another Dominion which, with its extensions right away through Eastern Africa to the North, can also hope in fulness of time to regard itself as the equal of that Empire which we once lost. Beside that, we have another Empire of 20,000,000 people in West Africa, with immense economic possibilities. We have our old West Indian Empire, neglected perhaps of recent years, but still capable of great development. We have in Malaya, in the Pacific Islands, in Ceylon and many other Colonies a great fund of wealth and of resources to be developed. Last, but by no means least, you have that great Empire of India with 330,000,000 of people—people of an ancient civilization with no little intellectual capacity, with great possibilities there, too, of development and progress.

All this immense Empire, four times greater in extent and in natural resources than the United States, represents not merely a material expansion, a conquest of territory, a conquest of resources; it means a wonderful achievement. I have already touched on one side of that achievement, the development of responsible self-government. But elsewhere, where conditions did not permit of that, it has been a wonderful achievement in organization and in trusteeship. Over those vast spaces, to nearly 400,000,000 of people, we have brought peace, order, justice, progress, where anarchy and barbarism reigned before. We found it possible, in a new and progressive Empire, to abolish slavery without resort

to civil war. We have taken on responsibilities for hundreds of millions of people for their good, and I think also for the ennoblement and enlarging of our own lives. We may have made mistakes; we may be making mistakes to-day; but on the whole I think we have justified the claim that Lord Rosebery once put forward in a speech—a speech delivered at the unveiling of a tablet to Sir John Macdonald in St. Paul's—that the British Empire is the greatest secular instrument for good that the world has ever known.

Since the War that work of trusteeship and development has been moving more rapidly, infused by new ideas and by a new spirit. In India we are coping with the problem, essaying a task bolder than has ever been tried before, of endeavouring to make possible the application of our principles of free government to hundreds of millions of people who for thousands of years past have known nothing except the rule of autocracy or the alternative of anarchy. We are developing the bodies and minds of the backward races of Africa by new policies of health and sanitation and education. We are regenerating the old Bible lands of Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, derelict for centuries past under alien misrule. We are bringing them back to something of their old prosperity. This work, so full of life and progress, is your heritage here in Canada, part of that which your forefathers with faith and instinct resolved to adhere to, and a great opportunity for you, their descendants, as well as for us.

In one respect only might it be said that the United Empire Loyalists or their descendants have not been so successful as the revolting Colonists. The economic development of the British Empire, great though it has been in the past century, has not, perhaps, in the last generation or two been as surprising as the economic development of the great Republic to the south of you. There I think we may have failed in Great Britain by carrying too far the idea that each part of the Empire should stand entirely on its own base. The strength and

development of the United States is due to the fact that some fifty communities, instead of trying to achieve their economic development single-handed and working in watertight compartments, have worked together, have co-operated to make the fullest use of the immense resources of their great territory. I think we might take a lesson from their example. With a territory four times as great, with resources infinitely greater in volume and infinitely more varied, we could, without copying their exact methods, without necessarily having a single tariff or a single scheme of internal Free Trade, yet find ways and means of co-operation, of mutual preference, of mutual support, by which in a very short space of years we could bring about an amazing transformation in the prosperity of every one of us, and before long make your great neighbours feel that, even if they go on actually progressing as they are doing to-day, yet, relatively, they will be moving backwards in the same way as we appear to be moving backwards in a slow train when an express train passes.

I may be an optimist about the possibilities of development in the British Empire, if we would only pull together, if, without necessarily sacrificing our control of our individual home markets, we could to some extent pool them in a wider market, and utilize the creative energies of our purchases to stimulate each other, and harness them as the steam is harnessed in a locomotive instead of letting them be dissipated as steam is dissipated in an open saucepan. I may be an optimist, but looking back over the history of Canada, or the history of the British Empire, I find that the optimists have always been right and the pessimists always wrong. Who but an optimist could ever have dreamt that a handful of settlers here and in Ontario would grow into the mighty Dominion of Canada? Who but an optimist would have dreamed that the federation of the scattered communities along the American frontier could ever be, in reality as well as in name, a great nation? Who but an optimist would have endeavoured to unite that nation by a ribbon of steel from ocean to ocean? Who but

an optimist could ever have thought that the freedom accorded to the British Dominions would, in the hour of danger, send a million armed men across the oceans to sustain the just cause of the Mother Country? Who but an optimist would believe that the British Dominions, as free to-day as the Mother Country herself, will not drift apart? We who are optimists know that they will not drift apart, know that on the contrary their common heritage of freedom, the common story of which we all are so proud, that common future of which we dream, is going to be realized even more effectively in freedom than it could ever have been realized in any other way. And therefore, I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that the men who, exiled for their loyalty, laid the humble foundations of Canada 150 years ago, worked with a faith and with an instinct which has already been justified in ample measure, and which you, their descendants, are going to justify even more fully.

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